SO ROUND, SO FIRM . . . SO FULL OF BUNK – JOSEPH J. SELDIN

THE Nation

February 12, 1955
20c

Peace in Asia Now?

The Price in Formosa
An Editorial

The Price in All Asia
By Douglas F. Dowd

Smog Over Science — *Gene Marine*

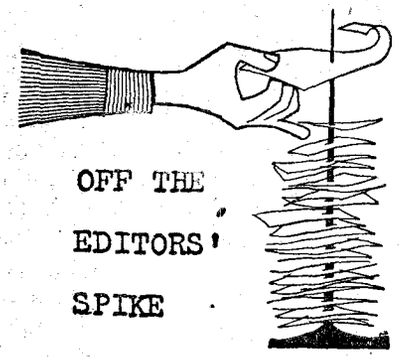
Facts Versus Theory — *J. A. del Vayo*

Abettors of Tyranny — *George Seldes*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

FEB 15 1955
The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CONSUMER REPORTS for February contains material which provides an interesting footnote to Mr. Seldin's article on cigarette advertising on page 136 of this issue of THE NATION. According to this source, the latest Consumers Union cigarette analysis indicates that nearly all American brands have actually increased their nicotine content during the two-year period which has witnessed the rise of the "cancer scare." Of twenty brands included in this year's test and the test made two years ago, Consumers Union reports that only two—John Alden and Sano regulars—showed the same amount of nicotine in 1955 as in 1953. All the others were found to contain more.

● A Dow-Jones ticker-tape system of reporting is needed nowadays to chart dominant and minor trends in the civil-liberties field, tracing the ups and downs, the zigs and zags. For some reason the "downs" continue to receive more prominence in the news than the upbeat items. Recent events on the plus side include Harvey Matusow's sensational repudiation of the important phases of his testimony in the Clinton Jencks perjury prosecution, the Lattimore case, and in the case of the "second-string" Communist leaders. Matusow has set example for other professional informers; let's hope they follow it. His book, "False Witness," which will be published in late February or March, is a time bomb that could touch off a chain reaction. Other plus-side items are former Senator Harry P. Cain's blistering attack on the loyalty-security program and t'. $25,000 in damages awarded to two New York Democrats who had been smeared as "reds" by the Yorkville Democrat, another indication, as the New York Post observed, that the price of slander is rising. Note, too, another acquittal—of librarian Thomas Browne Bennett in a case involving a charge of perjury based on a denial of Communist Party membership. Coming in the wake of the acquittal of M. L. Edwards on a similar charge, this latest verdict indicates that juries are beginning to draw a bead on the pernicious abuse of the perjury accusation to entrap political dissenters.

Of the more recent unfavorable civil-liberties items the most significant, perhaps, is the majority opinion of the California Supreme Court (January 25) in the case of Black vs. Cutter Laboratories, in which it was held that an employee could be dismissed for the offense of having declined to deny membership in the Communist Party, despite provisions to the contrary in a collective-bargaining agreement. Chief Justice Phil Gibson and Justice Carter joined in a brilliant dissenting opinion written by Justice Roger J. Traynor. Speaking of the majority opinion, Justice Traynor said: "Thus by judicial fiat, but without the temerity to declare that Communists are deprived of civil rights, the court abrogates not only the right of employers and unions to contract for the employment of Communists, but the right of Communists as a class to enter into binding contracts. . . .If it is illegal to employ a Communist, is it illegal to allow a Communist unemployment benefits? If the threat of Communist activity makes an employment contract with a known Communist illegal as against public policy, does it also invalidate other contracts? Thus, can a landlord break his lease with a Communist on the ground that his building may be sabotaged? Can a buyer refuse to accept and pay for goods purchased from a Communist on the ground that they may contain cleverly concealed defects? Can a seller refuse to deliver goods sold to a Communist on the ground that they may be used to promote Communist activities? . . . If contracts with Communists are illegal, cannot Communists themselves violate them with impunity?" Good questions these.

● Nation readers will not want to miss the extraordinarily interesting exhibition of paintings and drawings by Ben Shahr which may be seen at the Downtown Gallery, 32 East Fifty-first Street, New York, through February 12. The exhibit includes such well-known early work as Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Apotheosis, Two Witnesses: Mooney Series, and Don Quixote, all dating from the early 1930's; such fine samples of his work in the 1940's as Allegory, Nocturne, Spring: 1940, and —a favorite of mine—Miners' Wives, as well as fifteen works of the first four years of this decade, among them the superb Credo: 1954. At the end of the third week more than 5,000 people had seen the show, the largest attendance for a comparable period in the twenty-five-year experience of the Downtown Gallery.

● Nowadays it is necessary to read a lot of papers in order to keep abreast of the latest activities of Senator William F. Knowland. For example, one learns from the Texas Observer that the Senator spent three days recently in Houston as the house guest of Hugh Roy Cullen, the Texas oil tycoon who has been one of Senator McCarthy's most important backers. Dickson Terry of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the latest reporter to check up on Cullen's campaign contributions, reports that Cullen is estimated to have spent $750,000 to elect right-wing candidates in 1952. This is fifteen times the sum reported to the Clerk of the House of Representatives. Records there show that Mr. Cullen spent $53,000 to influence elections to the Congress which passed the tidelands-oil legislation; in 1952 his influence was felt in twenty-three states besides Texas.

● Now that United States aid is being funneled directly to Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam, rather than through France, the manipulation of the local currency—the French were very liberal in permitting piastres to be exchanged for francs at the official rate—has been brought under control and the end of the racket is in sight. One consequence is the tendency of certain elements of the French population to move from South Vietnam. Since French currency is "soft" and cannot be used in dollar and pound markets, the Vietnamese were forced to make most of their purchases in France; now the lion's share will be spent with American firms, not because of direct pressure or control—no strings are attached to American aid—but largely as a matter of convenience. Whatever the reason for the shift, the French do not care for it. "We are being eliminated, not by our adversaries," reports Jacques Soustelle, newly appointed French Governor of Algeria, in Combat, "but by our allies."

● Another minor consequence of the Geneva accord which has not been too widely commented upon in the American press has been the collapse of the De Castries legend. According to Paul Ghali, of the Chicago Daily News foreign service, General De Castries is now the scapegoat on whom the French pin the onus for Dienbienphu. Since his return to France in September, De Castries has been mentioned just once in the press which built him up into a national idol. Formerly legends of this kind survived for decades, even generations; nowadays they often collapse about as quickly as they are inflated.

C. Mc. W.

To Our Subscribers

The Nation has undertaken new printing and distribution arrangements which have led to delay in receipt of issues by some subscribers. The situation will be adjusted within the course of the next few weeks. We ask our subscribers to be patient with us.

EDITORS, THE NATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume 180, Number 7
New York, Saturday, February 12, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Price for Formosa Peace

PEACE at a price is possible for the Formosa Strait. But there is no power on earth that will produce a cease-fire within the framework of the President's message and the Congressional resolution. In undertaking such a task the Security Council is deliberately tied in a strait-jacket. Nor should one be surprised by Peking's refusal to participate in discussions putting it in the position of defendants before a body which includes a Nationalist China able to exercise a veto along with the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. If the Soviet delegate was wrong in seeking Security Council debate on a resolution charging the United States with aggression, his logic was irrefutable when he insisted that tensions can be relieved only when the causes producing them are removed or at least discussed.

Since the Seventh Fleet, the Allied armies, and the brand of aggressor imposed by the U. N. all failed to deter Mao in the Korean war in 1951, the present challenge is not likely to bring meek acquiescence. In the four years which have elapsed Red China has consolidated its internal, military, and diplomatic positions, and can bargain from real strength. It is worth recalling that the Korean war ended in 1953 on terms much worse for the Allies than those which could have been arranged two years earlier—and that a cease-fire was linked to later negotiations aimed at a political settlement.

It is safe to predict that fruitful discussions on Formosa will take place only under auspices that assure Peking equality and recognize that there is a Chinese case as well as a United States case. Neither the Security Council itself nor the premises of the proposed truce offer such assurance now.

To Americans and others, with the agonies of the Korean war still vividly in mind, there is a potent allure in the very phrase "cease-fire." And a cease-fire which involves nothing else seems an eminently reasonable proposal. Why should not the Chinese Communists agree?

The reason is simple. What Peking needs and wants is a political settlement which would recognize it as *the* government of China, restore its normal relations with the world, establish its rights in the United Nations. The desire of the Western world for a cease-fire is its best leverage to bring about discussions looking toward a political settlement which might achieve this. Without a political settlement a cease-fire freezes the status quo and hurts Red China's interests. Formosa and the Pescadores, occupied by the Nationalists, are about a hundred miles from the Chinese mainland. In themselves, even together with the offshore islands—Quemoy, Matsu, the Tachens—they constitute no danger. Without the Seventh Fleet and American support of Chiang these islands would long ago have come under Communist control. But in the light of the new American position Peking has reason to discern a real threat to its sovereignty.

THE "misalliance" of the past five years between Chiang and the United States will probably be formalized through the mutual-defense treaty. This recognizes the Chiang regime as the government of China. It serves notice on Peking that if it assaults Formosa and the Pescadores it takes on the United States as an adversary. And the new Congressional resolution enlarges the guaranty to include the offshore islands at the discretion of Washington. Nor are there any indications that the United States would beat its guns into plowshares even if there were to be a cease-fire. Communism and Communist regimes have been designated as the enemies of the United States. The President's message and the Congressional resolution were hardly reassuring to the Chinese Communists despite the careful tone of the New Zealand resolution in the Security Council. Moreover, Ambassador Lodge was careful to destroy any illusion that an approach to a cease-fire carried even a suggestion of political settlement. In the same breath he voted for the invitation to Peking and proclaimed that this did not alter American opposition to the recognition of the regime or to its being seated in the United Nations. Against this background there was no likelihood that Communist China would appear before the Security Council in the role of defendant.

Now that Peking has turned down the U. N. invitation, members of the Council are anxiously considering what further steps to take. As the body charged with preserving the pace, the Council has a solemn obligation to view the situation in its broadest terms, even if this means parting company with the United States government as to the best way of doing so.

It can give real impetus to a lessening of tension if it recognizes the essential facts. What are they? (1) A Chinese civil war did take place, in the course of which the Communists came into effective control of the entire country of 600,000,000 people. (2) Chiang Kai-shek, defeated on the mainland, fled to Formosa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Price for Formosa Peace 129

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 131

Price for Asian Peace:
Dollars Without Strings
by Douglas F. Dowd 132

Facts Versus Theory:
U. S. Policy Backfires
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 135

So Round, So Firm:
So Full of Bunk
by Joseph J. Seldin 136

Abettors of Tyranny:
New Critics of the Press
by George Seldes 138

Smog Over Science:
The Question of Security
by Gene Marine 140

BOOKS

The Seductiveness of E. E. Cummings
by John Ciardi 142

"The Wizard of the North"
by Joseph Wood Krutch 142

Footnote to Texas History
by Stanley Walker 143

Beethoven According to Freud
by Waldo Frank 144

Selected New Books:
American History
by Keith Hutchison 145

Biographical and Personal
by Mark Gayn 146

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 147

LETTERS 148

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 606
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 148

OFF THE EDITOR'S SPIKE
by C. McW. opposite 129

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B. H. Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, February 5, 1955, Volume 180, No. 6

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Second-class reentry pending, Montgomery, Alabama.

Subscription Prices. *Domestic—One year* $7; *Two years* $12; *Three years* $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

(3) The United States chose to take sides in that civil war by arming Chiang and sending the Seventh Fleet to protect Formosa. (4) Even with the reorganization of Chiang's army by the United States the four years which have elapsed have lessened rather than increased the chances of overthrowing the Communist regime except by internal revolution or an atomic war. (5) The intervention of the Seventh Fleet under the guise of preventing an extension of the Korean struggle was planned by the American military authorities to hold territory they considered necessary to the strategic line of defense of the United States and therefore presumably of the Western alliance. However, Washington's unilateral concept of its strategic needs hardly constitutes a warrant for United Nations indorsement of its China policy. And that may be why the United States did not initially try to involve the U. N. in the Formosa situation. Now its proposal of a cease-fire on the basis of the status quo was in effect a request for a blanket indorsement by the U. N. of its own stand in support of Chiang.

TO buttress this position, a curious anomaly has been produced—the theory that Formosa is China but does not belong to China. From 1895 until it was liberated by the American forces Formosa was a Japanese dependency. In 1943, at Cairo, the United States and Britain promised to return Formosa to the Chinese republic at the end of the war. This occurred. The Chinese government, then headed by Chiang Kai-shek, accepted the Japanese surrender of Formosa in 1945 and took over, implementing de facto the Cairo declaration. Now, says Mr. Churchill, the Cairo declaration is outmoded. But if Formosa is not recognized as Chinese territory, what is Chiang doing there? And to whom does Formosa belong? And if Formosa is not Chinese, why is Ambassador Tsiang occupying the seat belonging to China in the Security Council?

The United States can no longer avoid coming to grips with this problem, difficult and distasteful though it may be. If we want peaceful coexistence, then we must be prepared to deal with regimes we dislike as well as those we like. As a way out of the dilemma the recognition of two Chinas has been informally suggested. This is a manifest absurdity. Instead of pacification, two Chinas would insure a continued struggle until one regime vanquished the other. It would not be a way out of the dilemma but a way into a new labyrinth. Which China would occupy *the* Security Council seat with its veto powers?

After the North Koreans invaded South Korea, there was a unilateral declaration of intention by the United States to resist the attack. And what was privately heralded in advance as a one-week police operation to end a local aggression extended into a bloody three-year war, involving the United States and its allies through the U. N. It is the recognition of these facts and the fear of a military incident which could involve them all in a new and vastly more dangerous

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

war that are responsible for the off-stage dissonance between the United States and its allies, despite their seeming harmony in the Security Council.

With the accrued experience of recent years, members of the Security Council are in a position to avoid dangerous pitfalls and play a creative role in the present crisis. They can do so by abandoning the idea of acting directly through the Council itself and arranging instead a conference, under U. N. auspices, to discuss a cease-fire, a political settlement, and the disposition of Formosa. Participants in such a conference should include the United States, Britain, France, Russia, and Red China, with the addition of India or some other neutral Asiatic power.

IMPLICIT in such a plan would of course be ultimate recognition of the Chinese Peoples Republic as China's representative in the U. N., irrespective of whether or not the United States or any other government maintains diplomatic relations with it. If the United States should remain stubborn on this point, our allies should be reminded that they have an obligation to move ahead, none the less. The Geneva conference was held in the face of American opposition. It produced results for which the United States now is claiming much of the credit.

A similar conference respecting Formosa should bring about fruitful results. There is no excuse for a failure to attempt it, not even the excuse of strategic considerations. For military experts no longer claim Formosa is "indispensable" to the American defense line. Just the other day Hanson Baldwin, New York *Times* military analyst, said that our military chiefs consider Formosa and the Pescadores important chiefly for political and psychological reasons. Should we retreat from our position, American prestige would suffer, especially among Chinese abroad and other Asians.

The fact is that the United States has been steadily losing ground with the peoples of Asia because of its heavy military support of corrupt and reactionary governments. Continued backing of Chiang's police state on Formosa, coupled with the threat of war, atomic or otherwise, in defense of his regime seems an odd bait indeed to attract the friendship of Asian peoples. If we want peace, we must be prepared to pay a price for it. It is small enough—weighed against the risks of our present policy.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

WHILE the Eisenhower Administration was brooding on Formosa, suddenly the center of activity moved elsewhere. There was the Security Council's debate in New York; more significant was the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London where Nehru held the pivotal role. But most important of all was the obstinate enigma of Peking. All talk soon returned to that dilemma. How would China's rulers interpret American policy? Would they accept the assurances of peace or would they concentrate on the threats? No one pretended to have the answer, and the uncertainty proved that the real debate had only started.

From the beginning it has been evident that Formosa is much more than a problem in security. It has been suggested that Formosa might become another Okinawa, a link in the island chain of security on which American policy in the Far East rests. But Formosa is more than a strategic island. It is the home of an alternative Chinese government. The political threat posed on Formosa stirs the suspicion and resentment of Peking. As the State Department tried to shape a new policy, it decided to establish the security status of Formosa while leaving its political destiny in doubt. The question now is whether such a dual policy can be enforced.

Enough has been learned of the secret testimony before the Senate committees to establish the fact that Chiang Kai-shek knows beyond all doubt that he cannot rely on American aid if he should attempt an assault on the Chinese mainland. There are the strongest reasons, in fact, for believing that Chiang has abandoned this dream and has given rather precise assurances on this point.

It now is clear that Chiang always feared a cease-fire. When the first moves toward a cease-fire were made last September he foresaw that his political authority would be questioned by some governments. He therefore decided to accept the Formosa pact outlined by Mr. Dulles.

But if he submits to the evacuation of Tachen, and then consents to the loss of Quemoy and Matsu, he will acknowledge his weakness beyond hope of reprieve. His writ on Formosa may become clouded and precarious. Embittered by misfortune or stung into folly, he may decide to redeem his cause from the charge of surrender by an appeal to force.

Now it is easy to say that many Americans, like Mr. Attlee in Great Britain, would view with detachment and relief the erosion of Chiang's power and his disappearance as a political force. But that can hardly be the policy of an Administration sworn to protect its "loyal ally."

The anxiety about Chiang's intentions is yet another liability imposed by the partnership with Nationalist China. He is using his very weakness as a bargaining point with Washington. Some of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his best troops are on the offshore islands. Their loss would endanger his power in Formosa. He was urged long ago to make a better disposition of his forces. He refused. Now he has succeeded in giving an importance to Quemoy and Matsu which neither their strategic value nor their political significance can even remotely justify.

But there has been unexpected support for at least a few of Chiang's demands. The Philippines have been most insistent in advising the State Department to resist the surrender of Quemoy and Matsu. Similar warnings have come from Korea and Japan. All these governments have said that the loss of the islands would be represented by Peking not as a victory over Formosa but as a retreat by the United States, with resultant damage to the security of Southeast Asia.

Against this advice has stood the massive caution from Great Britain that it is most unwise to make commitments that cannot be redeemed in the event of danger except at a ruinous price. In addition, Britain has repeatedly urged the State Department to remember that diplomacy should be flexible in method even while pursuing rigid objectives.

In Washington there is considerable support for the view that President Eisenhower could have carried Congress with him if he had openly written off Quemoy and Matsu. Others argue, however, that it was very sensible to cloak the ultimate status of these islands, thus leaving room for diplomacy. Whatever else may still be obscure, it certainly is plain that the door has not been left open for American diplomacy. During the most anxious period of this crisis, American policy has been immobilized. Peking's mind has been completely closed to Washington. In the search for a cease-fire at the United Nations the State Department dared not take the lead. Co-operation with Prime Minister Nehru and Sir Anthony Eden had to be far more cordial in private than the Department could admit in public.

Even if Mr. Eisenhower's policy succeeds, it will have exacted a harsh price. For it has elevated Formosa to an importance and given it a sense of urgency altogether unrelated to America's interests in the Far East. The State Department has been worrying about the political future of Nationalist China while trouble grows in Indonesia, while Indo-China is riven by problems, while the economic aid program for Asia mocks the early hopes, and while the Western nations are still trying to build an effective barrier against subversion and aggression.

After facing all these risks and taking so many incautious steps toward the abyss, the Administration is now saying that no clear-cut solution may be possible now, and American-Chinese relations will continue to be controversial.

PRICE FOR ASIAN PEACE

Dollars Without Strings . . . *by Douglas F. Dowd*

OF the many slogans circulated by the present Administration the latest —"competitive coexistence"—is probably the most defensible morally. It also seems a relatively effective way of maintaining peace and achieving a reasonable world. In comparison with "massive retaliation" it certainly has much in its favor. Fortunately, the saber-rattling slogans have so far yielded only noise. What may be expected of "competitive coexistence"?

The term has been defined as economic, political, and social competition between the non-Communist and Communist systems without rivalry in arms. Its first promising manifestation was F. O. A. Administrator Stassen's tentative proposal of an Asian aid program made at the meeting of the Colombo Consultative Committee in Ottawa last October. Stassen's remarks were strikingly, perhaps deliberately, similar to Marshall's at Harvard in 1947, which were followed by the inauguration of the Marshall Plan. Most public discussion of the matter since then has been in terms of a "Marshall Plan for Asia."

Stassen's proposal, in his own words, was "that those who have help those who have not to help themselves." Who, in all conscience, could object to that? Still, several questions should be raised and answered before the cheering begins: (1) What is the likelihood that Congress and the Cabinet will support such a plan *in principle and practice*? (2) Under what conditions would the recipient nations in Asia —the plan envisages an arc beginning at Japan and ending with Afghanistan—accept such aid? (3) Assuming the approval of some kind of program in principle at both ends, how much aid is needed, how should it be used, and how administered?

The groundwork for obtaining the support of the United States government was laid when former Budget Director Joseph Dodge was called back to Washington. Dodge was asked by the President to formulate the government's position on foreign economic matters, and to set up and head a Council on Foreign Economic Policy. His primary responsibility at the moment appears to be mediation between budget-conscious officials like Secretary Humphrey and advocates of increased aid for Asia (and/or Latin America) like Stassen. One thing seems clear: Eisenhower is determined to have some kind of Asian aid program. Whether Congress will approve a new aid program of any kind is less certain. And there is considerable

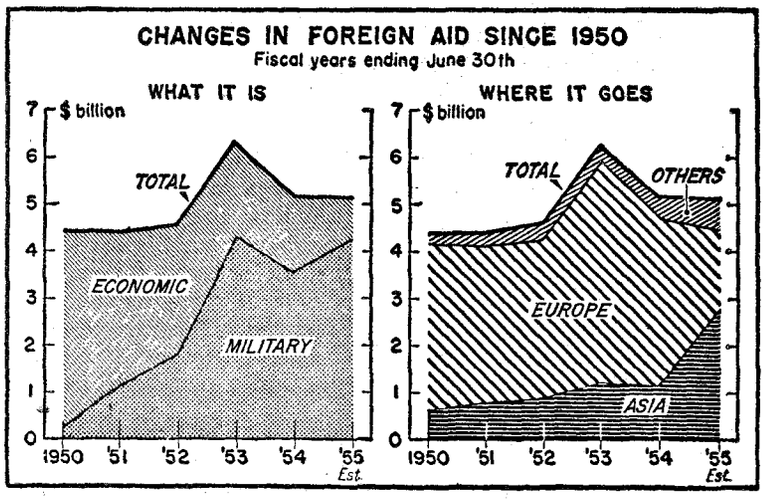
DOUGLAS F. DOWD is assistant professor of economics at Cornell University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doubt that the program approved would entail significant changes in the American contribution to Asian economic development. The first tantalizing speculations talked of billions; we now hear that Secretary Humphrey is confident that aid given for this purpose will run well under $100,000,000. Secretary Dulles has even been quoted in the press as denying categorically the rumor that the Administration was contemplating an aid program for Asia.

Even a small amount cannot be regarded as in the bag. Congress is hardly in the mood to approve new foreign-aid expenditures. Most Congressmen seem to be looking forward eagerly to June 30, 1955, when the F. O. A. is due to expire. Preoccupied with the budget and taxes, they have little understanding or sympathy for the social and economic problems of the world outside this country. Of course, there is a Fulbright or a Lehman here and there, but the group for which Senator Knowland speaks is more numerous. And its solution for the "Asian question" is not a tractor but a bomb. Eisenhower can probably push an aid program of some sort through Congress. But the budget-slashers and the Know-Nothings together will keep it small.

Moreover, they will attach so many strings that the program would be unacceptable to at least three of the most important Asian nations—India, Burma, and Indonesia. Some Asian nations have shown that they will play in almost any game we devise. But the neutralism of India, Burma, and Indonesia was not idly adopted, nor is it likely to be idly cast off. The dilemma which this poses has been neatly summed up by *Business Week:* "If you make the proposal look too anti-Communist, neutral Asian countries probably won't go along. If you don't make it anti-Communist enough, the United States Congress might balk at providing the funds." The acceptance of aid by all the Asian countries in what we may call Stassen's arc would seem to be contingent on the following minimal conditions—no political strings, no dictation as to the economic institutions of the recipient countries, some assurance that promised aid will not be withdrawn within a specified period.



So much said, there seems very little point in going on to the third question. But let us suppose that Congress, despite all, will judge the whole matter in a rational way. What, then, should be the amount of aid, the uses to which it is put, and the system of administration?

By now every literate human being must be acquainted with the pitiful living conditions of most of the inhabitants of underdeveloped areas, of which Asia is the most populous. The causes have been described as a conglomeration of intertwining vicious circles beginning and ending with backward technology, heavy emphasis on primary production—foodstuffs, fibers, minerals—with consequent "lopsided economies," low productivity, small and misdirected aggregate savings and investment, poor health, illiteracy, high death rates and even higher birth rates: the mind boggles. It should be added that they "got that way," not through some penchant for disaster, but with the generous help of the industrialized, relatively wealthy countries. Perhaps it is time that Europe and ourselves began to make repayment for the direct and indirect benefits accruing to us from our use of the "backward" countries—as markets, sources of raw materials, investment outlets, even as providers of soldiers in both world wars.

The underdeveloped countries are now trying to industrialize. How rapidly they can do it, whether in fact they can do it at all, will depend to a critical degree on help from outside. The question is not: are they going to try? It is with what means, with what success, and, if they fail, with what consequences for us all?

Among the means, capital is the first essential. And if expanded production is to keep ahead of population growth, domestic capital must be supplemented by external capital. For the Asians, with their short life expectancies and exploding populations, it is not in the long run but in the short run that we're all dead. But Secretary Humphrey, watching his dollar, argues that large-scale spending in Asia is "waste," since a base must first be created for a going productive economy. That is true—a base must first, or at least simultaneously, be created. But with what? Certainly not with the small surplus of the Asian economies. Nor with the private investments of Americans and Europeans, for profits would be low and long in coming. (Since World War II, even with government guaranties against capital loss through expropriation and the like, private investors have been notoriously shy of sinking money in the underdeveloped countries—except in those on the oil circuit.) With intergovernmental loans? Perhaps, if in much larger than current quantities and with effectively subsidized interest rates.

The base—what economists call the "social overhead"—consists of transportation, communications, water, and power systems; housing, educational, and medical facilities; and a few basic industries like cement, fertilizer, metals, and tools. To get these going, much more than capital grants is necessary—a trained

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Backward" People

labor force, an efficient and responsible administration, some natural resources. This means that technical assistance must be provided and morale built up.

HOW much capital is needed to start the whole process cannot be precisely determined. The U. N.'s special report on the question, in 1951, estimated that the underdeveloped countries in the world would have to import ten billion dollars of capital annually in order to raise their per capita income by 2 per cent annually; 80 per cent of this would be required in South Central Asia and the Far East. Cut the latter amount in two, as ex-Premier Yoshida did recently in asking for Asian aid. Can the industrialized nations afford even a four-billion-dollar annual gift? Indeed, yes. The United States alone could afford it, without feeling the pinch. After all, our gross national production "normally" increases by some fourteen billion a year. Thus our real income could continue to increase nicely while we gave away four billion of it. Moreover, if we don't give it away, there is good reason to believe that our real income will go down—unless we utilize alternative "giveaways" in the form of armaments or some kind of domestic public works.

Would a giveaway program to Asia, and/or the other underdeveloped countries, be sound? From the point of view of the health of the American economy, it certainly would be, for it would provide expanding markets for American and European goods—and let us not forget that the specter of German and Japanese competition is again disturbing the dreams not only of European but of American and Canadian producers. Would it be a sound method of financing the economic development of the underdeveloped countries? If by "sound" one means realistic and desirable, the answer is again a vigorous yes, provided it is done in time. Of the three major sources of external capital—private loans, intergovernmental loans, and grants-in-aid—the first two combine the disadvantages of inappropriate direction (that is, not for social overhead), inadequate amounts, too great expense, and the possibility of a real or fancied extension of imperialism. There remain grants-in-aid, or very long-term, low-interest (in effect, subsidized) loans, operating through some international financing and development agency. It is a canon of "sound finance," tediously reiterated to prove that capital grants must go awry, that the appropriate guiding mechanism for capital flows is the market. But market criteria are seriously relevant only to the activities of private individuals interested in private gain. Those criteria were not used, for example, by the United States government, or suggested by its business community, when the construction of the railroad system in this country was subsidized, with incalculable benefit to our industrializing economy. The guiding criteria for capital flows to underdeveloped countries should be social need, not potential private gain.

Suppose, further, that we allow considerations of simple humanity to intrude here. Might they not justify the United States in giving away any number of billions annually, even if that entailed, say, a 2 to 3 per cent cut in our income? But perhaps that would be asking too much of a people desperately in need of color TV!

The needed aid in Asia is undoubtedly not less than one billion annually for at least ten years, and it is probably some multiple of that. We shall know only when the Asian nations come up with a list of specific interrelated projects, as the Marshall Plan nations in Europe did. Suppose this sum is in one way or another provided. How should the program be administered? In this connection, surprisingly, the happiest notes have been sounded by administrators, Senators, and the press. It is widely agreed that the administrative unit should be multinational—no one has suggested the United Nations, although that would seem to make sense—with aid from both Europe and the United States channeled through a regional authority.

SUCH an authority is found ready-made in Asia in the Colombo Plan Council. The Colombo Plan's nature and purpose are revealed in its full name—the Colombo Plan for the Cooperative Economic Development of South and Southeast Asia. The six-year program came into existence in 1951. Sponsored originally by Great Britain for the Commonwealth nations, the Colombo Plan now includes as members or observers all the Asian nations except Korea and de facto China. Even Japan was admitted last October. The major difficulty of the program lies not in its administration but in the lack of funds to finance anything but projects for increasing agricultural production, including the construction of multi-purpose dams. It would seem to be an excellent administrative unit for an expanded Asian aid program, but there is one big objection. As the London *Economist* said recently of this "Asian watering can":

> To be properly effective it needs much more money; the only hope is that the Americans will come in with a massive contribution; but this will mean that American influence will predominate, probably causing a breakdown of the unique Colombo Plan relationship. It would be a pity if this happened. [Asian countries] . . . see in [the plan] no sign of a threat to their sovereignty, no suggestion of a political line-up in the cold war. This is a valuable asset; it should not be squandered. Irresistibly, therefore, the conclusion is reached that the Colombo Plan should not, after all, be transformed into something bigger.

It is hard to believe that the Asian members would dissent.

The success of any Asian aid program will also be affected by economic and political relationships among the nations of the world. The reliance of the underdeveloped

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

countries on the export of one or a very few primary commodities puts their economies in a precarious position; this is because, of all goods entering into world trade, the prices of primary commodities undergo the widest fluctuations. As a result these countries suffer from the persistent danger that any plans they may make will be blocked by falling trade receipts. Paper schemes have emerged to meet this problem, such as international commodity-stabilization programs, but opposition to them is powerful and effective. The underdeveloped countries, given external aid, can make progress despite this obstacle, but a given amount of aid will go farther if the context within which it is used does not periodically get all gummed up.

Nothing has yet been said here of anti-communism, which is of course at the base of the Administration's proposal. Can a negative purpose yield positive results? A "Marshall Plan for Asia" proposed by the United States because the people of Asia need help which the United States is able with ridiculous ease to supply would doubtless succeed; ways would be found to make it succeed. But if it is put forth because *we* need help in a world power struggle it would be much less likely to succeed and might not even come into existence. Why? Because the Asians will turn it down, and because the American people are unlikely to lend adequate political or fiscal support to a program motivated by fear, suspicion, and pessimism. Such a program for Europe was generally supported, it will be said, but much of the enthusiasm over the Marshall Plan was due to its strong humanitarian appeal. Apart from Stassen's "have and have not" phrase, the official pronouncements on the new program have not even mentioned the Asian people except as potential soldiers.

We are a great country and a generous people. Not just because it would be profitable but because it is essential to our survival as a worth-while society, we must set our minds and hearts to work in ways that betoken good means used for good ends in a good spirit. I believe it was Harold Laski who pointed out that "the surest way to bring about the destruction of a civilization is to allow the abyss to widen between the values men praise and the values they permit to operate."

FACTS VERSUS THEORY

U. S. Policy Backfires . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

FACTS are sticky things. They outwit the smartest magician. The facts of the first six weeks of 1955 have destroyed the comfortable but artificial theory that peace can be assured by a simple demonstration of strength.

Two facts have dominated this initial period of the year: the efforts of the Western European governments to speed up ratification of the London and Paris agreements arming Germany, and President Eisenhower's message to Congress of January 24 asking for blank-check authorization to use United States armed forces to defend Formosa. In the official interpretation of both moves, as in the half-official commentary of columnists and broadcasters, their supposedly constructive character was consistently emphasized. It was in a spirit of peace, not of war, that the projected German divisions in Europe and the United States navy in the Strait of Formosa would provide a deterrent to any lust for expansion. But in reality, instead of acting as a deterrent, the decision to rearm Germany and the display of force off the China coast have provoked a series of reactions from the Communist side none of which can be considered a retreat or a sign of reduced tension. The result has not been gestures of peace but bitter reciprocal denunciations, threats of war, military and naval deployments.

Moscow has intensified its efforts to block the London and Paris agreements. Enumerated in order, the successive Russian warnings about the consequences of German rearmament form an impressive ensemble: Foreign Minister Molotov's interview in the Soviet press of November 19, 1954; the Soviet note proposing a conference in Moscow on European security; the declaration issued by that conference—held with the participation of only the Communist states; the note to France threatening renunciation of the treaty of friendship between the two countries if the treaties rearming Germany were ratified; the similar note to the United Kingdom.

Parallel actions of a more conciliatory sort have, it is true, been taken, such as Russia's declaration ending the state of war with Germany, but on the whole the result has not been a retreat; rather it has amounted to a clear warning that the Western strategy of "strength" will be answered by a similar strategy on the part of the Communists. Nor has this warning been conveyed only by notes and pronouncements. By unexpectedly convening the Soviet parliament at the beginning of this month and by accepting the resignation of Anastas I. Mikoyan, Minister of Domestic Trade and one of the chief advocates of an increased consumer-goods output, Moscow let the world understand that it was taking notice of the military measures adopted by the West. The editorial in *Pravda* (January 24) left no doubt about the reasons for Mr. Mikoyan's departure. It said that giving consumer goods priority over the development of heavy industry would mean surrendering industrial initiative to the capitalist countries, which "would endanger the security of the Soviet Union," and referred pointedly to "the acute international sit-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uation that requires the Soviet people to exert the greatest vigilance"—a clear reply to the rearmament of Germany.

AS regards Peking, the deterrent effects of the American display of force in the Formosa area have been equally imperceptible. Nobody expects a massive assault on Formosa now, but the campaign inside Communist China for the liberation of that island received a new impetus with President Eisenhower's message. The optimism that had prevailed in the office of Mr. Hammarskjold, United Nations Secretary General, about the possible early release of the American fliers has yielded to increasing skepticism. "From the point of view of the fliers," a high-ranking U. N. official said the following day, "the timing of the Presidential message could not have been more unfortunate."

These are facts whose fateful meaning cannot be changed by any official interpretation or by wishful thinking. The truth is that after a few months of reduced international tension following the Geneva conference, we find ourselves in the midst of a new atmosphere of alarm and hostility. It is a state, not of war, but not of peace; one which fits well with the attitude of those who are ready to face any risk except the risk of negotiation.

This is not to absolve the Soviet Union of its share of responsibility for failing to bring the German problem to a clear-cut decision. The Russians could certainly have taken advantage of the situation created by the killing of E. D. C. in the French National Assembly to put forward the proposal that free elections in the whole of Germany under international supervision be carried out in the present year—as they did, but too late, when the alternative to E. D. C. had already been formulated. It would have deprived of their most plausible excuse those who resist a negotiated settlement of the German issue. This Russia could have done. But would it in fact have changed the course of events; modified the cold-war strategy of the West?

I could fill pages with remarks made by Mr. Dulles before, during, and after the Berlin conference—which I covered for *The Nation*—showing that his chief preoccupation was to avoid any agreement that might endanger or delay approval by the European parliaments of the treaties to bring a rearmed Germany into the Atlantic coalition. The fear that hung over the Berlin conference was less a fear of failure than of an accord that would kill those twelve German divisions before they were born. The same kind of fear followed Mr. Hammarskjold on his recent mission to Peking. In official and other influential quarters in this country the chief worry was lest the negotiations for release of the fliers might be linked to some sort of agreement on other issues, such as Peking's accreditation to the U. N. or the future of Formosa.

The German divisions, Formosa's definite integration into the military system of the United States, the bases in Spain, the arming of the Arab states—it is such practical and concrete things, and not the nebulosities and hazards of negotiation, that form the substance of American policy. It is a policy that can be defended from the point of view of national interest. But it should not be "sold" to the American people as a policy aimed at coexistence or as a road to peace. It may not lead to war, but it makes war a much more tangible, near-at-hand possibility.

SO ROUND, SO FIRM

So Full of Bunk . . . *by Joseph J. Seldin*

LOOKING toward eventual adoption of an industry-wide "code" of advertising, the Federal Trade Commission recently wrote to all cigarette companies proposing certain do's and don'ts in cigarette advertising. This interest in cigarette advertising on the commission's part is not new. In 1942 it issued complaints against Philip Morris, Pall Mall, Camel, and Lucky Strike, and several years later against Old Gold and Chesterfield. On the basis of medical testimony the F. T. C. ordered the respective makers to stop advertising that "Camels will never harm or irritate the throat," that Old Golds "contain less nicotine" or less tars or resins than any other brand, that Philip Morris protects smokers from smoker's cough, and that "independent tobacco experts prefer" Lucky Strike two to one.

The smoke of all cigarettes, the F. T. C. said, contains throat irritants "in essentially the same quantities and degrees," and any excess smoking of any brand will irritate even a normal healthy throat. The F. T. C. did not know of any process by which nicotine, tar, and resins could be removed or substantially reduced without at the same time rendering the tobacco leaf unfit for the manufacture of cigarettes. In fact, it found that the actual difference in nicotine content between Old Gold and the other tested brands was only $\frac{1}{177,187}$ of an ounce per cigarette. Someone estimated that smoking a pack of Old Golds daily for an entire year would yield the negligible benefit at the end of the year of $\frac{1}{24}$ of an ounce less nicotine. Yet on this head of a pin danced a multi-million-dollar advertising campaign.

The situation is even more serious

JOSEPH J. SELDIN is a New York advertising man and free-lance writer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

now than when the F. T. C. first opened fire on cigarette-advertising claims, for in the last few years scientific studies have accumulated statistical evidence of a close relationship between smoking and lung cancer. Final proof of cause and effect is lacking, but the question how many of the 23,000 deaths from lung cancer in 1953 were caused by cigarette smoking is plaguing government health officials, cigarette companies and their advertising agencies, and smokers. Let us see what each of these interested parties is doing about it.

IN its letter to the cigarette companies the F. T. C. asked them to drop any claim that cigarette smoking in general or the smoking of any brand in particular was "not harmful" or "non-irritating," and also to drop descriptive words like "smooth" and "soothing," since in the public mind such words "imply lack of harmful or irritating effects." It even requested the elimination of references to larynx, lungs, nose, or any other part of the body, and to digestion, energy, nerves, or doctors. In no way were the ads to imply "medical approval." If the cigarette companies wondered what themes were left for cigarette advertising to use, the F. T. C. suggested themes of "taste, flavor, enjoyment, and other similar matters of opinion."

The reaction of the cigarette companies to the smoking–lung cancer controversy was to form the Tobacco Industry Research Committee. Set up by fourteen companies on January 3, 1954, this committee announced that its purpose was to conduct research into all phases of tobacco use and its effects on health. Several distinguished scientists were appointed in an advisory capacity and a fund of $500,000 was created, although ten months later only six research grants totaling $82,000 had been authorized. From time to time the committee has issued to the newspapers reassuring statements from more than thirty cancer authorities to the effect that there was no real proof that smoking caused lung cancer.

Privately, in tobacco trade circles, the belief is expressed that the smoking habit is too firmly intrenched to be overturned by cancer talk. Lewis Gruber, vice-president and director of sales of the P. Lorillard Company, said at a trade meeting: "We do not accept the pessimistic conclusion that the human race will give up tobacco after 350 years because of unproved statistical medical findings." Mr. Gruber saw in the sale of nearly four billion cigarettes in 1953, triple the consumption of twenty years ago, "no sign of anything like saturation." The market was big enough, he said, to absorb the production of all brands–fifteen new ones had been introduced since January, 1953–and there was "no end in sight" to the tobacco industry's expansion. His confidence was justified by Lorillard's latest announcement to its stockholders, which reported earnings of $5,092,712, or $1.79 a share, in the first nine months of 1954, compared with $4,724,526, or $1.66 a share, in the first nine months of 1953.

In their trade publications many advertising men have expressed the belief that the cigarette makers brought their troubles on themselves. "By stressing the health angle in cigarette advertising," one trade paper said, "the industry is only confirming the public's fear that smoking is harmful." Advertising men generally agreed that to say "my brand is less harmful than yours" was to stress the danger of smoking; what was needed was to "stop all cigarette advertising that hurts rather than helps the sale of the product."

Their reply to the F. T. C.'s charge that much cigarette advertising was misleading was that the ordinary person "couldn't possibly be misled by the claims made in a cigarette ad." As proof, they pointed out that audience tests by a research organization showed belief in cigarette advertising to run only from 4 to 8 per cent as against 25 to 30 per cent for refrigerator commercials. As for overstepping the bounds of good taste, a leading trade publication warned that "most of the provisions [of the suggested code] enter areas which, in our belief, may represent a serious encroachment upon the right of free expression."

The smokers, for their part, showed their concern by turning in droves to the filter-tips for protection from nicotine and tars. Sales of standard-type cigarettes fell 15 per cent in the first six months of 1954, and those of filter-tips jumped 198 per cent. Today 10 of every 100 smokers use filter-tips.

UNFORTUNATELY, tests conducted by the American Medical Association offer no assurance that appreciable amounts of nicotine and tars are trapped by the filter-tips. By means of an automatic smoking machine equipped with motor-driven valves to simulate the periodic "puff," the A. M. A. tested five brands of filter-tips and reported: "In all cases the fraction of nicotine removed by the filter from the smoked portion of the cigarette is small." It is apparently the smokers who are trapped. And the question is still: what can be done for them? It is high time that a "no fooling" approach be taken to the lung-cancer threat to sixty million smokers. The government, the tobacco companies, and the advertising agencies all bear a public responsibility that requires concerted action.

The truth-in-cigarette-advertising campaign started by the F. T. C. should be pressed without compromise. The Public Health Service should warn smokers against the hazards of excess smoking. All cigarette advertising should contain the warning, and it should appear on each pack and carton. The government should support cancer research in a big way. Less than $6,000,000 in government grants went to cancer research in 1953, a miserly figure compared to the government's "take" of more than $1,500,000,000 in cigarette excise taxes, paid incidentally by the cigarette smokers.

The cigarette companies have not absolved themselves of responsibility by setting up the Tobacco Industry Research Committee and appropriating some $300,000 (up to January 17) for cancer research, especially when they spent $80,000,000 on "unbelievable" advertising in 1953. They should accept willingly and publicly a truth-in-advertising code. The advertising agencies' tongue-in-cheek insistence on free speech is no excuse for misleading ads. Elementary justice demands that the smokers, who foot all the bills, should know whether they are smoking themselves to an early death.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ABETTORS OF TYRANNY

New Critics of the Press . . *by George Seldes*

LAST week I listed some of the principal publishers, journalists, and newscasters who represent a new and powerful threat to the freedom of the American press. Masters of invective and of the libel-proof smear, they are seeking to discredit as Communist, pro-Communist, or Communist-inspired anyone in radio, TV, or the publishing world, no matter how conservative, who doesn't happen to agree that Senator McCarthy is a twentieth-century St. George. Supporting the Hearst and the McCormick press in this campaign is a handful of weekly and monthly publications, a few of which are important enough to warrant mention here.

The July, 1954, issue of the *American Mercury* contains an article by Chesly Manly, United Nations correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune,* which deals mainly with the menace of what the author calls "Sulzbergerism." In the article the weekly *New Leader* is quoted to smear Harrison Salisbury, former New York *Times* correspondent in Moscow; Herbert Matthews, a veteran *Times* writer, is attacked for allegedly favoring "the Communists in the Spanish civil war" and for calling the Dominican Republic a "tyranny"; and Lester Markel, Sunday editor of the *Times,* is described as "an abettor of the Communist conspiracy"—a statement that seems libelous.

The following month the *American Mercury* published an article by Harold Lord Varney on the news coverage of the army-McCarthy hearings. Mr. Varney said:

> The institution which came out of the controversy covered with pitch was the metropolitan press. With a few honorable exceptions the role of the big-city newspapers in the McCarthy lynching was dirty and dishonorable. . . . Top-flight papers like the New York Herald Tribune and the Baltimore Sun, the Washington Post, even the ordinarily ethical New York Times resorted to such persistent slanting.

In the September issue of the same magazine Varney's victim is Walter Lippmann, *Herald Tribune* columnist, who is called "a credulous purveyor of the half-truth and the smear." John T. Flynn, contributing to the same issue, lumps the *Times,* the *Herald Tribune,* Methodist Bishop Oxnam, Catholic Bishop Shiel, Adlai Stevenson, President Eisenhower, and Gus Hall, national secretary of the Communist Party, as a group "united in one great cause—the war on Senator McCarthy because he is fighting Communists in government." "Alone the Communists are helpless," writes Flynn, "but they have allies."

The publisher of the *American Mercury* is Russell Maguire, a millionaire ex-broker who said goodby to Wall Street when, according to *Time* of December 9, 1952, "the S. E. C. forced him out for 'flagrant violations of the law.'" Maguire has collaborated with Allen Zoll, whose American Patriots, Inc., was one of the few organizations named in the Attorney General's "subversive" list as fascist. Maguire has also helped to distribute a foul anti-Semitic publication, "Iron Curtain Over America."

The *Freeman,* recently taken over by the Foundation for Economic Education, calls itself a "libertarian" monthly. An article in its September, 1954, issue denounced the continuance of what it calls "the same kind of naive, biased, and inaccurate journalism that helped the Reds gain control in China." The reference was to the press treatment of events in and around Formosa. "American correspondents . . . do not want to report the truth," the article said. Another writer in the same issue attacked the "'liberal' press, especially the metropolitan papers which are known for their opposition to Congressional investigations of alleged Communists." The *Freeman* has a long record of reaction; before it was taken over by its present publishers, its board of directors included H. W. Prentis, Jr., of the Armstrong Cork Company, who subsidized many anti-labor and right-wing groups; Jasper Crane, vice-president of duPont, and J. Howard Pew of the Sun Oil Company, the last two having been influential in formulating the anti-labor and anti-New Deal policies of the National Association of Manufacturers.

The *American Legion Monthly* features many of the contributors to the *Freeman* and the *American Mercury,* and the general political line is the same. According to the New York *Times* of May 23, 1954, the magazine's publisher, James F. O'Neill, denounced the *Times* in particular and the American press in general in a public speech. Many of our largest newspapers, magazines, and radio and TV networks, O'Neill charged, have become "glorified transmission belts, if not for Communist propaganda, then certainly for what you ought to call domestic or international collectivism." There are "too many of the wrong kind of people" in American journalism, he said, adding that the press was feeding the public "propaganda when they pay their nickels in the hope of getting honest news objectively presented." The *Times,* in O'Neill's view, exerted "a terrific force often contrary to the best interests of this country"; he objected strongly to the stream of ideas originating "in the Times Square—not Union Square—area."

The new critics complain bitterly that they are not getting a fair break in the press and on the air waves. But the complaint contradicts their own claims. The 46,828,000 families in America buy 54,000,000 newspapers daily, listen to about

---

GEORGE SELDES is the former editor of In Fact *and author of "Lords of the Press" and many other studies of American journalism. This concludes a two-part article.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as many radio sets, and will soon be looking at as many TV screens. Fulton Lewis insists that 16,000,000 people listen to him on the Mutual radio network. Winchell's supporters boast that he is heard or read by 30,000,000 persons. The McCarthyite-Hearst complex of newspapers, syndicated columnists, magazines, radio and TV outlets, and news services may well reach the majority of the country's reading and listening audience. The Chicago *Tribune,* the most widely read standard-size newspaper in the United States, and the New York *Daily News,* the largest-selling tabloid, claim combined circulation of more than 3,000,000 on week days and nearly 5,000,000 on Sunday. Whether or not the audience of the pro-McCarthy media is as large as claimed, it is certainly larger than that of the anti-McCarthy media.

AS I pointed out last week, the press was almost 100 per cent with McCarthy when he first launched his anti-Communist crusade. Although there were earlier scattered attacks on the Wisconsin Senator—the position taken before the McCarthy committee by James Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post,* was supported by four of ten members of a committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors—most observers agree that the real turning point came in early March, 1954. It was then that the army released its report accusing McCarthy and his counsel, Roy Cohn, of attempting to extort favored army treatment for G. David Schine, and that Ed Murrow made his famous TV broadcast exposing the McCarthy techniques. But two other events took place the same month which have been less publicized but may have had an even more important role in turning the tide against McCarthy.

In the middle of March, President Eisenhower visited his friend Paul Hoffman, then head of the Studebaker Company, at the latter's home in Palm Springs, California. The day after the President's departure Hoffman gave a radio interview in the course of which he emphasized that an atmosphere of fear and hysteria was bad for business. He did not name McCarthy, but the implication was plain. A few days later many newspapers carried a summary of a *Fortune* magazine poll of 253 top business executives in 30 cities who seemed to agree that McCarthyism was indeed very bad for business.

What is bad for business is bad for newspapers, as advertising managers are always quick to point out. Mr. Hoffman's statement and the *Fortune* poll certainly made it easier for many newspapers to speak their minds at last. "If the newspapers were responsible for inflating McCarthy," Lester Markel of the New York *Times* told a student group gathered in a studio of radio station WQXR in New York on March 27, 1954, "they are also responsible for deflating him."

"Why was he built up in the first place?" a student asked.

"He did not make the wave; he rode the wave," Mr. Markel replied. He added: "The press has a very grave responsibility, and I think the press has not exercised it."

McCarthyism littered the psychic shores of America with fear and confusion; it intensified the post-war age of anxiety; it stimulated witch-hunting and book-burning, character assassination and anti-intellectualism. Under such circumstances it was natural that Moscow revived the fascist label and placed it on the new American reactionaries. But the Communists were not the only ones to do so. *Editor and Publisher,* chief spokesman for an American press which is 90 per cent Republican and probably 98 per cent conservative, was one of the first American publications to see the totalitarian aspects of McCarthyism. Of Senator Joe's move to boycott the Milwaukee *Journal* and *Time* magazine, *Editor and Publisher* said: ". . . a new low in politics . . . this strikes at the very roots of press freedom—the economic power that makes a free press possible . . . the whole thing reeks of totalitarianism." The Milwaukee *Journal* accused the Senator of using Hitler's "big lie" technique, and many other journals agreed. The Protestant *Christian Action* magazine saw McCarthyism as a "totalitarian trend" and a greater threat to our institutions than domestic communism. The A. F. of L. plumbers' union demanded McCarthy's ouster "before he accomplishes his apparent purpose of building a fascist movement." In November, 1953, the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church warned against "creeping fascism." *Time,* keeping an even temper despite McCarthy's boycott maneuver, quoted the London *New Statesman and Nation* as saying, "The Hitler-McCarthy analogy is surprisingly apt." The York, Pennsylvania, *Gazette and Daily* published frequent editorials on McCarthyism headed Fascism, American Style. Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas declared that "there is greater danger of fascism in America than of communism" (*Time,* February 22, 1954). In fact, the tendency to equate McCarthyism with fascism was widespread except in that section of the American press which had published the works of Mussolini, Hitler, and Goering in the early 1930's.

Courtesy Des Moines Register

"That's the college debating team—dedicated to freedom of inquiry, freedom of exchange of ideas, freedom of speech."

McCARTHY may have been using Hitlerian methods, but as of today he does not represent a fascist menace because he lacks an organized following. His supporters, realizing this, tried to gather ten million followers for him and in one state, Oklahoma, began to form a political party. But the greater danger lies in the current maneuvering within the Republican fold. If Senator Knowland and the Wisconsin Senator can capture half the Senate, they can impose their policies through a "palace revolution" and will not need organized mass support.

Meanwhile the campaign against the big press, which is with few exceptions a Republican press, is of extraordinary significance. Musso-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lini once said that "to break the heads of *Il Mondo* (an opposition paper), that is my program." Any dictator can silence the opposition press, and all who have taken power have done so. What we are witnessing in America today is something typically American in one respect—an attempt to destroy an opposition by arousing popular opinion against it by legal, if foul, means. A red smear can prove as effective a weapon against a democratic press as the threat of violence against its editors.

In my opinion this is the most dangerous activity of the McCarthyite movement. It is not aimed chiefly at the small "dissident" press, the "liberal" organs, but at the basically conservative, pro-Eisenhower press, which includes many of the biggest and most powerful newspapers now being published. If these newspapers can be discredited or silenced, conservatism will have been superseded by extreme reaction, and there will no longer be any debate as to whether fascism can happen in this country or not.

SMOG OVER SCIENCE

The Question of Security . . *by Gene Marine*

Berkeley, California.

THE cloud that hung over Berkeley, California, during the last week of 1954 had nothing to do with the drizzle and smoky haze that darkened the city. It was another kind of cloud—the kind that dampens the laughter of a group and makes conversations break off in mid-sentence.

To attend a convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science can be an exciting experience. The activity, one feels, is combined somehow with detachment; one senses the presence of great minds and the free flow of ideas; one has the electric pleasure of watching and listening as tiny, isolated experiments and studies are pieced together into a mosaic of advancing knowledge. But the scientists who gathered at Berkeley were conscious of a feeling that the air was not quite fresh and the light not quite clear. There was a sense of oppression which seemed to stem from the convention's preoccupation with security.

The subject turned up in address after address, in corridor conversations and lunch-table discussions, and the conclusion was always the same: science is being slowly but inexorably stifled. The reference, of course, was not to the federal government's attitude toward its employees but to the whole idea that, in the words of the Oppenheimer security board, "there can be no tampering with the national security, which in times of peril must be absolute."

The National Association of Science Writers scheduled a symposium on Science and Security at which Dr. George Beadle of Caltech, the new A. A. A. S. president, shared the platform with the University of California's Dr. Joel Hildebrand, dean of the country's chemists. Dr. Hildebrand minced no words in telling the writers what he thought of government officials who cringed at the shadow of a McCarthy: "That fear has even operated to withdraw support of research involving no question of security whatever, that could yield results of great value in the relief of human suffering. In such a case the principal loser is the public, not the scientist." Dr. Beadle was equally blunt. He summed up the feeling of the convention's scientists when he said that any system effective enough to keep all our scientific accomplishments from the Russians "would have to be so elaborate and rigid that it would reduce communication among our own scientists to the point where scientific progress would stop."

The idea was not new: Norbert Wiener in "The Human Use of Human Beings," published in 1950, told how during the war he solved a particular equation but could not make the solution known, with the result that in other branches of the war effort progress was held up for months, or perhaps years. What was new was the omnipresent preoccupation with the problem, to the exclusion of any other unifying theme.

Dr. J. B. Condliffe, Berkeley's distinguished professor of economics, addressing the Social Science section, emphasized the danger. "It seems clear from the history of scientific thought that a negative approach to the problem of security runs the grave risk of destroying the communication and cross-fertilization of ideas that has been the very heart of scientific progress." He continued: "There is no proof that our secrets will be better kept by applying the regulations and criteria more rigidly and over a wider range of scientific and related activities. This is an illusion, an imaginary Chinese Wall or Maginot Line."

DR. E. U. CONDON, in his address as retiring president, made no reference to his repeated security troubles, but Dr. Warren Weaver, speaking next, made it for him. Such men as Condon, Dr. Weaver said, were victims of "a sickness of rumor and anxiety, of suspicion and disgust, and, at its worst, of fear and tragedy. . . . In its worst part it is the horrid result of political pressure, of personal selfishness, and of the pathological arrogance of demagogues with small and nasty minds."

Again and again the convention returned to the subject. Any ob-

GENE MARINE is a San Francisco journalist who covered the recent annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science on special assignment for The Nation.

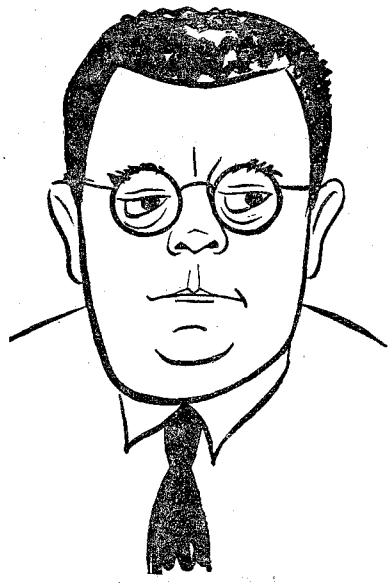
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

server could perceive that more was involved than the irritation of single-minded men at complex bureaucratic procedure. Science was in a corner and fighting for its very life. The theme cropped up in the Phi Beta Kappa address, given by Conway Zirkle of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Paul Klopsteg of the National Science Foundation referred to it in addressing the Industrial Science meeting. At the session on Scientific Editorial Problems, Nash Candelaria delivered a paper on Security and the Editor which contained, for one listener anyway, much of the quiet horror of Orwell.

As recipient of the William Procter prize for research Vannevar Bush referred to the "Red scare" of the early twenties and continued: "The situation today is much more threatening. If all people knew the wide extent of the threat—which goes far beyond the few spectacular cases that make the headlines—if they understood how closely it fits into our enemy's designs and how successful those designs are proving, then there would be a return to reason in a hurry."

The director of the Medical Branch of the University of Texas, Chauncey D. Leake, added his voice: "We cannot escape the conclusion that our security regulations and the authoritarian methods by which they are enforced are detrimental to our best scientific interests and indeed to our very safety."

Nor were the shafts aimed only at the federal security program. Dr. Bart Bok, a native of Holland who came to America to become professor of astronomy at Harvard and director of the Harvard Observatory, spoke on The Role of Science in International Cooperation and devoted at least half his time to a bitter attack on the McCarran-Walter Act, which he called a serious barrier to scientific progress. Scientists, he pointed out, simply do not try to come to international conferences in the United States any more; even those whose visas are cleared get their clearances too late to make use of them. At a recent conference to which twenty foreign scientists from outside the Iron Curtain were invited, only four could get visa clearances in time to attend. Wars, as another scientist pointed out,



Edward U. Condon

begin usually with a breakdown in communication.

If the erosion of science by the security concept was not mentioned directly, there were oblique references to it. A group discussing ways to improve the quality of science teaching in public schools was forced to consider the effect of "security" on the desirability of a scientific career. A speaker on cultural anthropology was forced to note its effect on the study of international relations. The bibliographies attached to papers on every subject, from astronomy to nuclear physics, were almost entirely composed of American items, with an insignificant sprinkling of English and French.

The question of what to do about it all came up of course again and again, both formally and informally, but even tentative answers were sparse. Dr. Bok urged that scientists participate in UNESCO projects and keep up correspondence with their colleagues in other countries—even in Iron Curtain countries and in fields where Marxist theory and practice have corrupted the pursuit of truth. Also, he suggested, they might work for repeal of parts of the McCarran Act.

Dr. Beadle insisted that all discoveries in basic or fundamental science should be unclassified, whether "carried out in government laboratories, in universities, or in industrial laboratories." One of the reporters promptly remarked that the Department of Commerce had set up an Office of Technical Information whose purpose, as he described it, was "to screen unclassified information which may at some future time be useful to an enemy." It got a laugh, but it was an uneasy laugh, and the uneasiness was not dissipated when a scientist wondered aloud whether the information in question had anything to do with AD-X2.

AN observation made by several speakers—including Bush, Condliffe, and Weaver—but most explicitly by Dr. Hildebrand was that the stifling effects of the current obsession with security are due primarily to a misunderstanding, by politicians and public, of the nature of science and the activities of scientists. "Science," Hildebrand pointed out, "is essentially not a warehouse but an enterprise," and people do not generally understand its active character. "Good telling" of the "stories" of the mistakes and false starts and interactions of scientists, he said, "would help to make clearer to the public the dependence of scientists upon free exchange of information." That Dr. Hildebrand realized the difficulty of this type of approach was evident, but he insisted that "one of the prices one must pay in a democracy is the effort and skill required to gain popular understanding and support."

Would popular understanding be enough? Or is the search for absolute national security incompatible with the scientific search for truth? One speaker — Dr. Condliffe — may have uncovered the underlying dilemma: "We are faced," he said, "with a tragic paradox. The applications of scientific research are undermining the very existence of the nation-state by destroying its protection in time and space; but in face of this harsh fact national security is proclaimed as the absolute value and given priority over all other social values."

There is of course no simple answer, and any attempt to resolve the dilemma will have to be born of bold and imaginative thinking, not bound by outworn concepts. If science must continue under the cloud that hung over the Berkeley conference, it will lose its way and stand still.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

The Seductiveness of E. E. Cummings

POEMS 1923-1954. By E. E. Cummings. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $6.75.

By John Ciardi

WHAT is most fascinating to me about Cummings, aside from the presence of a talent that takes and stays, is the way he can be both silly and profound, sometimes both at once. Perhaps more than any other poet since Rimbaud, Cummings has set out to perfect the sophomorism of the race. The perfection and the sophomorism are there equally: the perfection because Cummings is a man and a talent, the sophomorism because there is not and never will be a world as simple and as over-defined as the one Cummings wills us to believe is real.

Like the Stoics, those sophomores of philosophy, Cummings admits no degrees in good or evil: the man one yard outside Athens and the man ten leagues outside are equally *not in* Athens.

So good is good and bad is bad, and nowhere in Cummings will they meet. Because Cummings is a sentimental romanticist the good is always "lady," nature, life, rebellion. Because he is also a satirist—and it is his least talent—the bad is always business, officialdom, and the prison of the closed mind. It is an irreproachable system. It says "peace is good and war is bad," and it says "freedom is good and captivity is bad." What it never expresses is the possibility that that good which is freedom may very possibly depend upon that evil which is war. Nothing in the framework of Cummings's rhetoric permits such cross-distinctions.

And it may be this very oversimplification that makes Cummings so attractive. To us in the age of anxiety, of ambivalence, of aspirin—whatever it is—any man who can be so authoritatively over-simple and over-definite is likely to seem a refreshment and a security.

What's more, Cummings is superbly seductive. His intellectual integrity seems a natural force in itself. This, after all, is the man who went to jail in France (see "The Enormous Room") rather than say four silly words to French bureaucracy. The rest of us know very well we would have said the silly words and felt wholly justified. But we must still admire the man who wouldn't. And there is the heart of Cummings's seductiveness: his refusals are better than ours. He refuses better than most people affirm. Like Olaf, perhaps, who may have been a damn fool too, but who has to win in the end:

> preponderatingly because
> unless statistics lie he was
> more brave than me: more
> blond than you.

And finally—and to begin with—Cummings is an artist, wherein what he thinks is not the point but how he *feels* his thinking. Any boy debater in the country could knock over his stated propositions; the fact remains that the human feeling he brings to those propositions will exercise the race for as long as it reads English.

I will still wish the man would change his photographer. One more jacket picture like this one and it will be time for Harold Vinal to write a poem about E. E. Cummings.

JOHN CIARDI is associate professor of English at Rutgers University. He has recently published a translation of "The Inferno."

"The Wizard of the North"

SIR WALTER SCOTT. His Life and Personality. By Hesketh Pearson. Harper and Brothers. $4.

By Joseph Wood Krutch

THIS is the seventeenth of Mr. Pearson's brisk, readable biographies—all published within twenty-five years. Obviously they cannot all be "definitive," but they usually take advantage of whatever new information has come to light, and they have a justification other than the obvious commercial one that people will buy a new biography of Scott or Disraeli or Whistler when they would not buy an old one. If they are not reassessments in any profound sense, they do reflect shifting attitudes toward the various subjects.

High-school students still have "Ivanhoe" thrust down their throats—which is unfortunate, because the only things worth reading unwillingly are the absolutely first-class. With glorious extravagance Bernard Shaw once said that there was nobody, "not even Sir Walter Scott," whose works gave him so great a conviction of mental superiority as Shakespeare's did. Probably not many people now read "Ivanhoe" or even the best of Scott's novels of their own free will, and it is hard to imagine him enjoying a revival. But his career and personality are still interesting, and it is upon the career and personality that Mr. Pearson concentrates. It may be a little extravagant to say, "Cervantes had killed romance, which was reborn in Scott." After all, the "Gothic" romance had been popular for a generation before Scott's time. Nevertheless, he did embody for the man in the street that aspect of romanticism which meant "the past" as triumphantly as Byron embodied the aspect which meant rebellion, the passionate heart, and picturesque Satanism.

Probably no other English writer with the possible exception of Byron or Dickens ever sprang so suddenly into popularity or sustained that popularity through so many works. For a few years Scott was the overwhelmingly most popular poet and for rather more he was the no less overwhelmingly most popular novelist. But one of his many virtues as a man was that, far from losing

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, formerly The Nation's *literary editor and drama critic, has just received the National Book Award for "The Measure of Man."*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his head, he rather underestimated his importance. While contemporaries were calling him the "Wizard of the North" and comparing him with Shakespeare in a fashion quite different from Shaw's, he himself could say: "No one can both eat his cake and have his cake, and I have enjoyed too extensive popularity in this generation to be entitled to draw long-dated bills upon the applause of the next." Asked by his printer what he thought of his genius in comparison with that of Burns, he replied: "We ought not to be named in the same day"; and with more generosity though less judgment he also sincerely believed himself inferior to such a minor contemporary as Joanna Baillie.

Most of his many virtues, as well as his limitations, were as untypical as modesty is of the literary man. His senses were rather blunt, and despite his prodigious memory and knowledge of the past he was not at all what is called intellectual. He rode hard, and many of his tastes were simply those of the country gentleman. He was more impressed by the Duke of Wellington than by any other man he had ever met. Good-humored, generous, and fanatically honest, he was of course a Tory and little inclined to question the status quo. Living uncompromisingly by the code, he hardly imagined that it could be questioned. Above everything else he was a man of honor in contradistinction to what is sometimes called a moral man. And that, of course, is what infuriated Shaw, to whom the merely chivalric was the enemy of those transvaluations upon which true justice and morality must be founded.

Perhaps the fact that the intellectual and the scientific worlds have been for almost half a century on Shaw's side is as much responsible as are changes in mere literary taste for the low esteem in which Scott is held. But it may also be that his novels are less likely to be revived than is some respect for the kind of virtue he stood for. We have learned that honorable playing of the game is not enough. Great injustices are compatible with it. What we are just beginning to realize is that honor, though not enough, is indispensable, and that if many reforms, including of course both national socialism and communism, have turned out badly, that is partly because chivalry and honor were despised as weakness. Most mere "realists" as well as most revolutionists are convinced that you cannot succeed if you permit yourself scruples. Experience seems to be demonstrating that you cannot succeed if you don't.

It can hardly be said that Mr. Pearson argues this thesis explicitly. But he furnishes some material for such an argument when he presents a believable picture of a man who lived by the chivalric code. Scott could never have inspired a successful revolution. On the other hand, he would have done all he could by precept and example to prevent moral principle from becoming dishonorable practice.

Footnote to Texas History

SAMUEL MAVERICK, TEXAN: 1803-1870. A Collection of Letters, Journals, and Memoirs. Edited by Rena Maverick Green. San Antonio: Privately Printed.

By Stanley Walker

FROM 1835, when Samuel Augustus Maverick made his first trip to San Antonio, down to this day, the name of Maverick has always meant a great deal in Texas. Mrs. Rena Maverick Green, who is a granddaughter of this original Texas Maverick, and whose own contributions to life in San Antonio have been considerable, has spent many years in bringing together the papers dealing with the life and times of S. A. Maverick; now she has edited them with competence and scrupulous scholarship and seen to their publication. The result is a good-looking book, of enormous historical value.

Many misapprehensions have grown up about the Mavericks, and in some quarters they are regarded as slightly eccentric, which is hardly the correct word. Virtually all of them, beginning with Samuel Augustus Maverick, have been persons

STANLEY WALKER is a Texas rancher and free-lance writer.

ACCENT

A Quarterly Of Modern Writing entering its 15th year with

Winter 1955:

Finnegan's Wake—The Gist of the Pantomime by J. S. Atherton
Was Lawrence a Symbolist? by Mark Spilka
Stories by Rex Worthington & Frank Holwerda
Poems by E. E. Cummings, Millen Brand, T. Weiss, Jascha Kessler, Virginia Kidd, Dell Hymes, Grace Carnot, Flora J. Arnstein, Mason Jordan Mason
Reviews: Dudley Fitts on MacLeish; Thomas H. Carter on Wyndham Lewis; Babette Deutsch on Stephens & Cummings

A Special Offer To Readers of THE NATION

Although many back issues of **ACCENT** can no longer be supplied, we are offering a combination of

(a) ACCENT ANTHOLOGY

A 687-page selection from Volumes I-V (1940-45). The book (published by Harcourt, Brace) contains:

Fiction by Katherine Anne Porter, Irwin Shaw, J. F. Powers, Roger Martin du Gard, Walter Van Tilburg Clark, Kay Boyle, Eudora Welty, etc.
Poetry by Dylan Thomas, J. F. Nims, Jean Garrigue, John Berryman, Wallace Stevens, Marguerite Young, Horace Gregory, etc.
Criticism by Cleanth Brooks, Henry Miller, F. O. Matthiessen, Eric Bentley, David Daiches, R. P. Blackmur, Marjorie Brace, Delmore Schwartz, Kenneth Burke, etc.

(b) 30 POST-WAR ISSUES

Thirty issues from the years 1946-54, containing more work by several of the writers mentioned above, plus such writers as

Randall Jarrell — R. V. Cassill
Caroline Gordon — James T. Farrell
Bonaventura Tecchi — William Sansom
Francis Fergusson — Bertolt Brecht
Robert B. Heilman — Wallace Fowlie
Richard Eberhart — Valery Larbaud
William Humphrey — Italo Svevo
F. Garcia Lorca — William Goyen
Marianne Moore — Peggy Bennett
William C. Williams
Hugo von Hofmannsthal

SEND ONLY $10.00 FOR ACCENT ANTHOLOGY ($4.00) AND 30 BACK ISSUES (TOTALING $10.90) — A SAVING OF $4.90.

ACCENT
102 University Sta., Urbana, Ill.
Enclosed:
☐ $1.50 for 1 year ☐ $2.50 for 2 years
☐ $10.00 for ANTHOLOGY & 30 ISSUES
Name _____
Address _____
City & State _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of marked individuality—intelligent, well-informed, many-sided in their interests, public-spirited, often shrewd in business matters, quick to fight on the side of the angels, and possessing an eye for beauty and a feeling for the richness of life. It is a very old family, famous in Texas, but its traces may be found in New England, New York, the Carolinas, and Alabama.

The matter has often been explained, so that there should no longer be any misunderstandings, but it is made clear again in this volume precisely what was the origin of the word "maverick." The word first was applied to unbranded calves which neighbors found in the carelessly tended herd belonging to Samuel A. Maverick on his ranch below San Antonio. Neighbors got into the habit of branding these animals as their own; later, "mavericking" became a word for putting one's own brand on another man's calf anywhere on earth. Now, by simple extension, the word, as applied to a person, has come to signify one who wears no man's brand—a man of independent spirit, shy of labels, unwilling to be a toady in any circumstances. In this sense it has become a fine and honorable word.

The Samuel Augustus Maverick who appears in this book was a man of education, ambition, patriotism, and varied interests. His services to Texas were many, and covered a long period. That he was not killed at the Alamo was because he happened to be away at the convention for Texas independence. He guided sturdy Ben Milam in Milam's capture of San Antonio. He served as mayor of the city, and in the legislature. He experimented with the growing of grapes. Quite a man—brave, sensible, generous when the occasion called for it, imaginative, steadfast in his principles, and capable of a touching devotion.

A good job, this, a clear portrait of a man and a footnote to history of the first importance.

SAMUEL MAVERICK

TEXAN: 1803 - 1870

ORDER FROM

RENA MAVERICK GREEN

616 Maverick Building

San Antonio, Texas

Beethoven According to Freud

BEETHOVEN AND HIS NEPHEW. By Editha Sterba and Richard Sterba. Pantheon Books. $5.

By Waldo Frank

A FIRST point in favor of this book is that one reads it without being reminded that its authors are professional psychoanalysts. They employ Freudian insights, of course, but without stress or surfeit. And they spare us the Freudian jargon, which is justified—like any abstraction of the sciences—only for strict methodological ends.

The book is a portrait of the personal life of a very great man. It is derived from unimpeachable sources: correspondence with friends, family, women patrons; Beethoven's legal papers and his brothers'; the notebooks; and above all the hundreds of surviving "conversation books"—hundreds more were inexcusably destroyed by Beethoven's first biographer, Anton Schindler—to which the master's discussions with friends and family were largely confined after his deafness. The result is convincing. And a chief reason for this is one which the book's authors do not claim at all—its internal corroboration by the music.

Beethoven's first chroniclers, who should be called his hagiographers, managed to sanctify their image only by turning the nephew, Karl, into a precocious and vicious youth unworthy the love and care of his tortured uncle. This fiction may now be buried. Karl, after his miraculous survival of the attempted suicide to which his guardian-uncle drove him, became a respectable member of Vienna's bourgeois society; he had been, by all the evidence, a boy normally bright, normally well-behaved, more than normally considerate of the agonizing Prometheus whose cloudy passions uprooted his childhood and chained his adolescence to the violent moods of a deaf old man with the energies and the frustrated manias of a titan. The record of what Beethoven did, after the death of the boy's father, to replace the father, to destroy the mother's good name, to wrench the child from his natural maternal moorings, to win legal and emotional possession of the harried youngster, reveals a man of ruthless and demonic will. And the music of Beethoven's two first periods reveals elements germane to these traits of power-seeking passion.

The technical virtuosity is often sheer rhetoric, assembled like artillery fire. The lyricism and extreme tenderness of feeling often lapse into the sentimental, the self-indulgent. The animal spirit of the fast final movements, often based on the country dance, is organized into sophistication. Only with the third period—the four last quartets, the final sonatas for piano, violin, and cello, the Missa Solemnis, the great climax of the Ninth Symphony—are these qualities transfigured into the pure peace of great music.

Beethoven the artist finally triumphed over the scoria in his nature. Not the man—until the very end, when he confronted the failure of his possession of his nephew. After the attempt on his life the youth emerged emotionally free of his uncle. And Beethoven accepted the boy's freedom. But Beethoven's breath was too deeply involved in his passions to survive their sacrifice. Within a year he sickened and was dead.

Not the revelation of his great

WALDO FRANK is a distinguished novelist and cultural critic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

final art but the spiritual weakness and technical virtuosity of his earlier music flowed into the romanticism of Beethoven's successors—until with Richard Wagner we find a flowering of the lust for power and a self-indulgence that are frighteningly close to other expressions of the German character. One understands Hitler's ecstasy, listening to Wagner. And one anxiously asks whether the potent German people can achieve an approximate purification like that of Beethoven in his final phase.

Selected New Books

American History

THE STORY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. Pictures by Hirst Milhollen and Milton Kaplan. Text by Dumas Malone. Oxford. $10. The story of the inception and drafting of the Declaration of Independence and of the subsequent "fortunes of a sacred document," together with brief biographical sketches of the fifty-six Signers. Professor Malone's very readable text supplements 267 illustrations—reproductions of paintings, prints, cartoons, photographs—admirably selected and arranged by Messrs. Milhollen and Kaplan of the Library of Congress.

THE COMING OF THE REVOLUTION: 1763-1775. By Lawrence Henry Gipson. Harper. $5. An account of the events leading up to the Revolution calculated to shock Colonel McCormick and the D. A. R. The foremost American authority on the first British Empire, Professor Gipson gives George III and his ministers their due—perhaps a little more than that—and does not hesitate to deflate many of the alleged grievances of the colonists. Unfortunately, his concentration on political and fiscal questions results in a slighting of the social factors that were so important in the growth of American nationalism.

POLTROONS AND PATRIOTS. A Popular Account of the War of 1812. By Glenn Tucker. Bobbs-Merrill. 2 vols. $10. The author of this stirring work has dug deeply and profitably into the newspaper files of his period. An objective reporter, he distributes the blame for this most unnecessary of wars with an even hand and also deals fairly with the stupidities and atrocities that blemished the conduct of both sides. It is a pity, though, that he did not allow more space for the Treaty of Ghent, which in itself settled none of the disputes between Britain and America and yet established prin-

PURPOSE OF THE RELIGIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

BELIEF IN GOD ROBBED OF SOCIAL JUSTICE BY ANCIENT ORTHODOXY. — SOCIAL JUSTICE OVERSHADOWED BY "RIGHTEOUSNESS." — REVERSAL OF EMPHASIS INEVITABLE AND IMPERATIVE. — Previous advertisements have emphasized that the Hebrew prophets preached a God of social justice (not socialism or communism), and that they were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus of Nazareth. But it is appalling to consider that when Belief in God came down from the hills of Palestine and entered the stream of World History, social justice faded from the religious pattern and was overshadowed by "righteousness."

That God requires righteousness is very familiar to all of us from childhood. We were all told, in forceful generalities, that God would punish us if we did not "do right." And yet, very few people, even today, know that the Hebrew prophets proclaimed a God of social and economic justice, and that the prophets were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. All church people today—orthodox and liberal alike—are honest and sincere. The transformation of Belief in God from its earlier sense of social justice to a merely individual righteousness was accomplished in the far-away Past by orthodox authorities unknown to the masses of the laity today.

RETURN OF RELIGIOUS EMPHASIS TO SOCIAL JUSTICE INEVITABLE AND INDISPENSIBLE.—No reflection upon the sincerity of present-day church people is implied by the religious problem that has thus come to us from the far-away Past. Nevertheless, if the churches do not choose to follow the prophets and Jesus, and put social justice (not socialism or communism) at the foundation of their belief in God, they will inevitably invite disaster at a time when social problems are pressing upon us as never before, and when social consciousness is rapidly replacing the ancient rugged individualism of orthodoxy and Herbert Hoover.

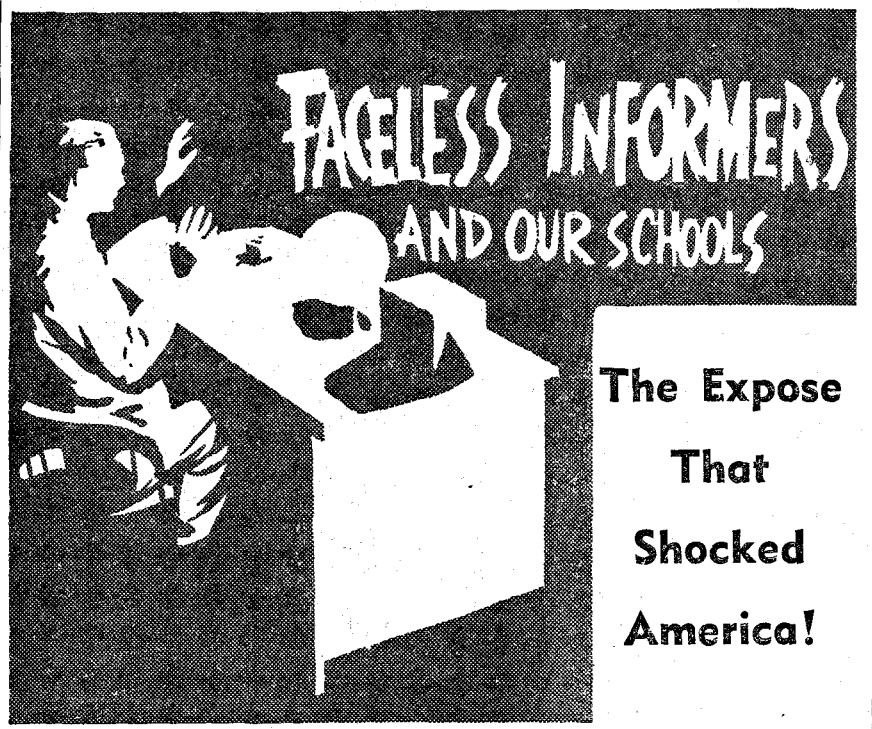
It is impressive to look back into the hills of Palestine, and to study the great struggles which destroyed paganism and endowed the term "God" with social justice. But it is appalling to think how the insidious propaganda of "Righteousness" has been so successful in banishing the sense of social justice from religion, and in reducing the highest concept of the human mind (i.e., "God") to the state of conventional respectability with which it circulates in our churches, Sunday schools, law courts, colleges, current literature, etc.

FREE MATERIAL AVAILABLE.—A free circular is being sent out, upon request, giving additional information. Its title is, Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History. If you have already seen it, please do not ask for another copy, because it is in short supply. But if you have not seen it, you may send a three cent stamp to cover postage on one copy.

IN ADDITION TO ABOVE CIRCULAR, FURTHER MATERIAL IN PREPARATION. — The title of the new circular is, Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief. It emphasizes that the process of restoration has already begun, and that these advertisements and circulars are intended to promote the process. The new material will not be ready for some time, however. But if you wish to have a copy, send an additional stamp at once, so as to be in line for it when ready. A request not accompanied by a three cent stamp (or two three cent stamps in case both circulars are desired) will necessarily bring no results. The great majority of those asking for the printed matter have carefully included postage. And please try not to confuse the two circulars; the first being, Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History, already printed; and second, Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief, in preparation. You do not incur any responsibility (financial or otherwise) in requesting the printed matter.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

(Advertisement)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Expose That Shocked America!

How the FBI Appointed Itself to Police our Schools

NOW READ, in pamphlet form, the sensational series of articles which appeared first in the Denver Post. "The FBI," says the Post, "is no longer concerned wholly with the suppression of crimes and the investigation of persons being considered for positions in the federal government. Without possessing any detailed authority to do so, the FBI is undertaking to volunteer information to governors of states and school authorities regarding the hiring of teachers."

HARD-HITTING, fully documented stories by Post Associate Editor Lawrence Martin reveal: "G-Men's Unwritten Charge Fires Three Utah Teachers," "California Shows Zeal in Subversives Dragnet," "New York's Hunt for Reds Holds Trap for Teachers," "Curtain of Official Secrecy Protects Hidden Informer." (These are a sampling of the topics covered in this series.)

THE DENVER POST not only poses the problem but points a way towards solution. You will want to read this important document and you can order copies now from THE NATION. (See coupon.)

THE NATION
333 Sixth Avenue,
New York City 14
I enclose $..... for ..... copies of "FACELESS INFORMERS."

Single copies	25c
10 copies....	$2.50
25 "	$5.75
50 "	$11.00
100 "	$20.00

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY ..... STATE .....
2-12-55

ciples of negotiation and arbitration that have precluded conflicts between the two countries.

AMERICAN DEMAGOGUES: TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Reinhard H. Luthin. Beacon Press. $5. A comparative study of modern American demagogues, including such characters as Huey Long, "The Man" Bilbo, Vito Marcantonio, Gene Talmadge, and Joe McCarthy. Mr. Luthin concludes that while American democracy encourages demagogues up to a point, the people are not apt to stay fooled long. Worth reading, although the author, overanxious not to appear academic, uses a curiously flat variety of journalese.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Biographical and Personal

THE UNTOLD STORY OF DOUGLAS MACARTHUR. By Frazier Hunt. Devin-Adair. $5. Another fat addition to MacArthuriana, done by a devout admirer. The usual vilification of F. D. R., George Marshall, et al.; but also much "inside" information that must have come, if not from the General's own famous trunks, then from his aides. Livelier than the Willoughby-Chamberlain book and putting a heavier accent on MacArthur's non-military activities.

CLOSE CONTACT. By Brigadier C. H. Dewhurst. Houghton Mifflin, $4. The chief of the British Military Mission in East Germany in 1950-53 tells of his life with the Russians and takes a long-range view of the Soviet Union. Often witty and usually level-headed, but lighter than air in some of its speculations on Soviet policy and how to counteract it.

THE MEMOIRS OF MARSHAL MANNERHEIM. Translated by Count Eric Lewenhaupt. Dutton. $6.75. The twentieth century's greatest Finn tells the story of his long and tumultous life as a czarist general in World War I, commander-in-chief in two anti-Soviet wars, and twice President of his country. A valuable historical document, despite the Marshal's appalling naivete.

BURMA UNDER THE JAPANESE. By Thakin Nu. Edited and Translated by J. S. Furnivall. Macmillan. $3. Burma's prime minister tells the story of his reluctant war-time collaboration with Japan. The little book, written nearly ten years ago, shows no signs of the iron which has helped Nu to guide post-war Burma through its harsh trials, but it casts a fascinating light on the workings of an almost Gandhian mind.

MARK GAYN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Music

B. H. Haggin

BERLIOZ'S "Les Nuits d'ete," the set of songs in which we hear some of the most wonderful manifestations of his powers, is sung by Steber with an orchestra under Mitropoulos on Columbia ML-4940; and the record is one of the year's outstanding events. The performance is not the one with the New York Philharmonic that was broadcast from Carnegie Hall early in 1955, of which I heard a friend's tape recording, but one recorded in a studio the following season; and this is regrettable. For the recorded performance is a superb one—with Steber's opulent and powerfully expressive singing in a context of wonderfully enlivened orchestral playing; but the broadcast performance was even better—more animated, less ponderous; and it was better transmitted to the ear. The record gives us Steber much closer to the microphone than the broadcast did; and this intensifies the tremulous shrillness of her upper notes in "Villanelle" and a few notes in the other songs. It also results in something less than the perfect balance of voice and orchestra and the clarity of the orchestra in the broadcast: in "L'Ile inconnue" not only is the orchestra blanketed when Steber sings, but the exciting rapid passages for low strings in the coda are blurred even when she is silent—this possibly as a result of the excessive studio resonance that is heard also in "Villanelle"; and in "Au Cimetiere" the violin harmonics beginning at *tremblant* and the four-note descending figure of muted violins and violas under *Les belles de nuit demi-closes* are not clearly audible.

Steber's Countess in "The Marriage of Figaro" ten years ago has remained in my memory as one of the great operatic impersonations of my experience; and it was one of my reasons for attending a recent performance of the work at the Metropolitan. I found it changed, but in its different ways still great. Ten years ago Steber's youthful appearance and voice made her Countess a young woman; and the strength of the impersonation was that it conveyed as no other had done a neglected young wife's beauty, spirit, and wounded pride, her humiliation at having to scheme with her servants against her husband. With the pounds the years have added to her body, and the amplitude these pounds have added to her voice, her Countess today is the older woman usually seen in the work, with that older woman's sorrow, and her zest, not humiliation, in her participation in her servants' schemes. She is less touching than the young Countess; but she benefits by Steber's powers of presence and projection; and what raises the impersonation to greatness is the singing—its vocal beauty, musical phrasing, expressive power, and grandeur of style.

When Steber first sang the Countess it was with Sayao, Novotna, Pinza, and Brownlee in performances by Bruno Walter. This time the Susanna was Conner, the Cherubino Miller, the Figaro Siepi, the Count London, of whom only London operated on Steber's level of distinction and power. And the performance conducted by Stiedry not only lacked animation, vitality, and brilliance but was unbelievably ragged; nor was it only in the breathless *Aprite* of Act 2 that the singers and orchestra weren't together, even in his sluggish tempo, but in moderate-paced passages in the last act, in which one might have thought he was employing a technique to defeat the singers' attempts to get into gear with the orchestra.

I also attended the performance of "Don Giovanni" in which Steber sang Donna Anna for the first time. She began with a tremulous shrillness in her upper register that continued until *Non mi dir*, where suddenly the voice was steady and clear all the way up, and the singing, which had been impressive even with the tremulous shrillness, now was sensational. I know nothing about the technique of singing; but I got the impression that it was sheer effort that had steadied and cleared the voice, and that the effort hadn't been made, or perhaps had been saved, until *Non mi dir*. And I will add that even with the tremulous shrillness her voice and singing were a pleasure to the ear that had had to endure the rasping, acidulous, tremolo-ridden voice of Harshaw in the part and her smearing of the florid passages of *Non mi dir*, in recent years.

There was also beautiful singing by Valletti as Don Ottavio and Dolores Wilson as Zerlina, but successively less attractive contributions by Siepi in the title role (with a rhythmically slovenly hurling forth of the Champagne Aria), Corena as Leporello, and Amara as Donna Elvira. Rudolph conducted with authority a performance that was animated and finished—with a few ragged moments that seemed to be the fault of the singers or to be caused by all the clambering they had to do over the ramp of the new set.

New FOLKWAYS Releases

PETE SEEGER

FP43 Pete Seeger Sampler (with concert)

FP48-5 Frontier Ballads, Vol. 1

FP48-6 Frontier Ballads, Vol. 2
(both available in one album FP5003)

FP701 American Folk Songs for Children

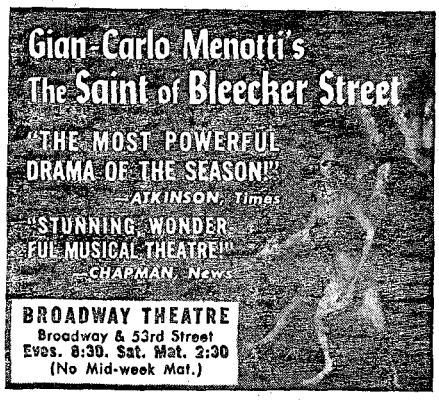
FP711 Birds, Beasts, Bugs & Bigger Fishes

FP3 Darling Corey (Pete's "Standby")

All 10" long play records:
List $4.75 . . . Net $3.50

Enclose 20c per record for postage and packing; 30c west of Mississippi

The Music Room
JU 2-4290 • 129 West 44 St. • New York



BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Just Received Volume 27 of the

GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA

In Russian

(Vol. 28 expected shortly)

Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. This new, enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes. The Collegium of Editors and contributors include leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.

Regular price—$9.50 per vol.
Our Subscription offer $8.00 per vol.

MIKHAIL BUBENOV
THE WHITE BIRCH-TREE

The famous war novel in 2 handsomely bound volumes.
820 pp Price both vols. $1.75

FREDERICK ENGELS
ANTI-DUHRING

(Revolution in Science)
Well bound 546 pp.—$1.00

A. M. BAKHAREV
"I. V. MACHURIN"

The great remaker of nature. Profusely illustrated. Well bound.
152 pp—50c
Again in Stock

ALEXEI KOZHEVNIKOV
LIVING WATER

An intensely absorbing novel. A realistic and poetic portrayal of the Khakass people and their splendid efforts to turn the dry Siberian steppes into a land of plenty. Literary prize winner. Profusely illustrated
605 pp. — Price $1.50

A. S. MAKARENKO
A BOOK FOR PARENTS

The best seller in Soviet Literature in English in this country. A must reading for all interested in child psychology. 410 pp.—$1.25

Ask for complete catalog E-55 and "Periodica"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56th St. 822 Broadway
New York 19 (12 St.) N. Y. 3
GR 3-2018-9

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

FREE catalogs on Social-economics Movements, etc. regularly from: The Hammersmith Bookshop, Beadon Rd., London, W6, England.

LECTURES

ECONOMICS FOR THE WORKING MAN

A series of 13 lectures presenting a systematic analysis of our economy by

PROFESSOR OTTO NATHAN

for many years teacher and lecturer at colleges and in workers' education.
Tuesdays, 8:15 PM—First Lecture, Feb. 15
Admission (at door): Single Lecture 50c, Series $5.
LABOR TEMPLE, 242 E. 14 St., N.Y.C.

DETROIT MEETINGS

REVIEW OF THE MONTH FORUMS

Friday, Feb. 11. Polish movie, "The Last Stop"—The story of Auschwitz.

Friday, Feb. 18. Perspectives for American Socialism as seen by the Proletarian Party. Speaker: L. Wysocki, National Secretary.

Meetings: 8 P.M., Highland Park YMCA, Detroit, Michigan.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

Letters

Patriotism or Self-Delusion

Dear Sirs: Among a wealth of fine NATION articles, I want to give special praise to two outstanding examples of foreign reporting—Mendes-France, Man on a Tightrope, by Fred Clarke (January 8, 1955), and Warnings from Bonn, Revolt against Rearmament, by Carolus (January 22). These articles demolish the idea that Western Europe is united in favor of German rearmament, the new myth cultivated in this country. When are we going to stop equating self-delusion with patriotism?

New York JOHN M. PICGERING

The Formosa Resolution

Dear Sirs: I think THE NATION could perform a very necessary service by finding out for its readers who in the Administration brought off the blank-check declaration of war on China. The plan seems too complicated to have come from Secretary Dulles, too subtle to have come from Admiral Radford. Moral considerations aside, it is one of the most brilliant political moves in recent years.

The reason advanced for President Eisenhower's request that Congress recognize him as an honest-to-God commander-in-chief is that this would show that the country is united on Formosa. This may or may not be true. If the President's action proves wrong (unpopular or tragic), our free press will be able to prove that a Democratic Congress forced it on Saint Dwight of Abilene.

Obviously it will be good for the appearance of the economy. Even if there is no fighting for some months, the possibility of the chip's being knocked off our shoulder should ease the way to still another New Look if our dynamic, expanding economy flags. It also makes more acceptable increases in draft calls, which keep that many more off the unemployment rolls.

The State Department will then be able to push the imprisoned-airmen affair out of sight for the time being. This is probably the major reason for the timing of the President's request. So far as propaganda is concerned, the airmen are worth considerably more to the Administration in prison or dead than they would be if free. This issue can be brought up again at any time.

As I write, the mate is splitting hairs as to whether the resolution would permit us to attack the mainland, and at what level such an order would be issued. Our fixation on Formosa can only mean that it is our intention to land on the continent eventually. Chiang's old men have been unleashed, leashed, and now are apparently back in the dog house for good. They will probably furnish rear-echelon stevedore service for our troops.

The President expressed the hope that the U. N. could arrange a cease-fire. This looks as if we are again setting up our favorite patsy. Neither Chinese group wants it. The Russians might be able to put enough pressure on the Communists to make them agree to it, and we are certainly able to put pressure on the Nationalists, but will either the Soviet Union or ourselves do it?

Princeton, N. J. F. W. JAMES

Benjamin Franklin

Dear Sirs: Those Americans who firmly believe that no government post should be in the hands of an official who does not have a 100 per cent simon-pure security clearance would be shocked to know that one of our greatest patriots was an out-and-out security risk. I refer to Benjamin Franklin. Judged by the standards applied in present-day security hearing Franklin would not have been cleared.

In the first place, he was involved in numerous intrigues with women of little virtue. In the famous "Autobiography" he admits to this quite frankly. As a result of one such affaire d'amour a son was born, William Franklin, later to become governor of New Jersey. It is only fair to note that Franklin afterward married the woman whom historians believe to have been the mother of the child.

Consider also his relations with Thomas Paine. When Paine was preparing to leave England on his journey to America, he obtained a letter of introduction from Franklin. Although this may seem innocent enough, it takes on a more serious hue when we recollect that Paine harbored and expressed some very radical opinions, especially in the field of religion.

Finally, Franklin expressed a very irreverent opinion of our national emblem, the American eagle, and said he wished the bird had never been chosen. His own words are: "He is a bird of bad moral character; he does not get his living honestly; you may have seen him perched on some dead tree near the river, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labor of the fishing-hawk, and, when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish and is bearing it to the nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him and takes it from him. With all this injustice he is never in good case but like those among men who live by sharping and robbing, he is poor and often very lousy."

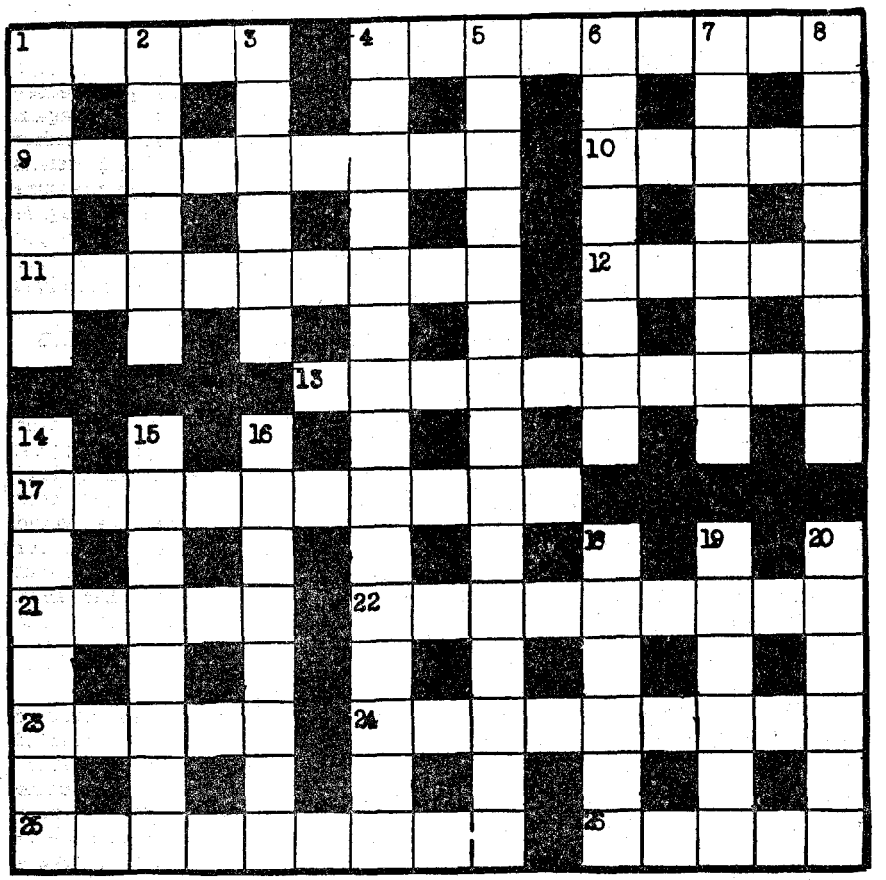
ELMER S. NEWMAN

Cleveland, Ohio.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 606

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Be out of the first six letters dialed? (5)

4 Filibuster in Colorado? (5, 4)

9 What a railroad inspector does? (9)

10 Some think it makes a good sound heart, for example. (5)

11 Such a composition might be slow and against no composition. (9)

12 and 21 Paradoxically, Kipling's were from the hills. (5, 5)

13 Is a sea coming from selfish people? (10)

17 Rug of close weave with a lot of holes? (4, 6)

21 See 12 across.

22 Long and narrow and pointed at both ends? (9)

23 A quartet of fish? (5)

24 Pen and ink and e'er confused. (9)

25 Did a sort of screen inside get seen? (9)

26 Like a roof, perhaps, with a hat on? (5)

DOWN

1 A calif looks better with a massage. (6)

2 A country is able to take a prosecutor, finally. (6)

3 Fond of making tea inside? (6)

4 Will you follow me? (7, 8)

5 No sides in common. (15)

6 Looking for something in store for you? (8)

7 Urges a boy to eat. (3, 5)

8 Burns suggested we take a cup of it, for old time's sake. (8)

14 More than worried — positively shaken! (8)

15 Place a regular humdinger up with this. (Sounds like a wolf!) (8)

16 Gives Catherine the cold shoulder? (3, 5)

18 The look of a snake with its tail coiled. etc. (6)

19 Traveling companion in the joint? (6)

20 Equipped— with teeth. (6)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 605

ACROSS: 1 PROFITABLE; 6 and 4 down PURE AND SIMPLE; 10 and 11 in ROUND FIGURES; 12 ASCETICS; 13 AISLE; 15 OLSEN; 17 PARTHENON; 19 RETAINERS; 21 AMEER; 23 ALOHA; 24 POINT OFF; 27 ETHICAL; 28 ORGANON; 29 TIDY; 30 PRIMORDIAL. DOWN: 1 PRIG; 3 INURE; 5 LUFFS; 7 UPRISEN; 8 EASTERNERS; 9 AGRAPHIA; 14 and 2 down TOURNAMENT OF ROSES; 16 NUISANCE; 18 RESTIFORM; 20 TOOTHED; 22 EFFENDI; 24 POLAR; 25 TIGER; 26 ANIL.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA

157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

FORUMS

Dr. Henry Steele Commager
discusses
AMERICA — HERITAGE AND DESTINY
at The Broadway Forum
Broadway Tabernacle Church
56th Street and Broadway
SUNDAYS AT 5 P.M., Feb. 6, 13, 20, 27
$1.00 a lecture $2.00 the series

CAMERAS ETC.

GERMAN CAMERAS & BINOCULARS. Import your own. Savings up to 35% on new Zeiss, Rolleiflex, Exakta, and all other makes. Experienced, intelligent, (and objective) advisory service for the technician or hobbyist. Please specify interests and requirements. Immediate airmail reply. Worldpost, Tangier International Zone, Morocco.

PERSONALS

WELL-EDUCATED WOMAN of progressive mind and cultural tastes, would welcome exchange of views with others, on topics of word interest. Write to: D. Lippmann, P. O. Box 443, Philadelphia 5, Pa.

ON YOUR next trip east or west on U.S. Highway 80 stop at Guilbert's Pharmacy, Gila Bend, Arizona. An oasis in the desert.

17" TV, TABLE MODEL, Top Rated, Regularly $149.95—SPECIAL $109.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

•

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

$7.42 per Inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

•

The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Historic Announcement to Music-Lovers from the Directors of the World-Famous Concert Hall Society

TO INTRODUCE YOU TO AN EXCITING MUSICAL EXPERIENCE, YOU'RE INVITED TO ACCEPT

10 ALL-TIME GREAT JAZZ CLASSICS

NO STRINGS ATTACHED! NO OBLIGATION!

Even if you never buy another record from us—now or later—you can now obtain all the advantages of a Trial Membership in The Jazztone Society

FEATURING THIS "WHO'S WHO" IN JAZZ:

- **COLEMAN HAWKINS** — KING OF THE TENOR SAX
- **Art Tatum** — GENIUS OF THE KEYBOARD
- **EDDIE CONDON** — "THE SPIRIT OF DIXIELAND" AND HIS GUITAR
- **SIDNEY BECHET** — NEW ORLEANS' GREATEST SOPRANO SAX
- **Erroll Garner** — WORLD'S MOST POPULAR JAZZ PIANIST
- **DIZZY GILLESPIE** — DAZZLING "BOP" TRUMPET
- **TEDDY WILSON** — DEAN OF "SWING" PIANISTS
- **PEE WEE RUSSELL** — THE CLARINET IN CHICAGO STYLE
- **JACK TEAGARDEN** — MAN WHO PLAYS THE BLUE TROMBONE
- **Charlie Parker** — THE FABULOUS "BIRD" ON ALTO SAX

AND INCLUDING: Rex Stewart, Red Norvo, Albert Nicholas, Flip Phillips, Billy Taylor, Milt Hinton, Sonny Berman, Bill Harris, Serge Chaloff, Ralph Burns, Chuck Wayne, Artie Bernstein, Don Lamond, Fernando Arbelo, Buck Clayton, Sid Catlett, Slam Stewart, Wardell Gray, Howard McGhee, Dodo Marmarosa, Barney Kessell, Jo Jones, Bobby Hackett, Bud Freeman, George Wettling, etc., etc.

$1.00

Not $1 each— but *$1 FOR ALL TEN!*

A Treasury of Jazz Performances, Encompassing Every Jazz Era—

Featuring such classics as *Jelly Roll Blues, Honeysuckle Rose, Basin Street Blues, Relaxin' at Camarillo,* etc.

SPECIAL NOTE: The famous Concert Hall Society gold-sputtered master process, employed in these recordings, assures you of the finest high-fidelity reproduction.

NOW you can begin to build that library of the imperishable "all-time greats" of jazz—through the JAZZTONE SOCIETY's amazing introductory offer: 10 superb jazz classics, not $1 each, *but all ten for $1!*

These recordings feature *all* the fine jazz musicians you see listed above — a veritable "who's who" of Jazzdom!

Half A Century of Jazz

Every jazz era, every jazz style; virtually the entire history of jazz can be traced in the wide range of these selections. Hear the dean of old-time New Orleans' jazzmen, Sidney "Pops" Bechet. Listen to clarinetist Pee Wee Russell, trombonist Jack Teagarden, and guitarist Eddie Condon. The scintillating keyboard "swing" of Teddy Wilson, Erroll Garner and Art Tatum—the dazzling "bop" trumpet of Dizzy Gillespie and the imaginative improvisations of such "greats" as Coleman Hawkins and Charlie Parker — *all* of these and many others are included in this dazzling long-playing record feast—YOURS FOR JUST $1! *Even if you never buy another record from the JAZZTONE SOCIETY!*

Yours FREE

Fascinating, comprehensive treatise on Jazz, by leading authorities on different jazz styles.

We make this amazing offer because this is the best way to show you the quality of these Jazztone Society recordings. Only by hearing them can you appreciate their technical and artistic excellence, their amazing fidelity. JAZZTONE SOCIETY recordings are obtainable nowhere else, meticulously processed to the high standards of the world-famous Concert Hall Society, and pressed on quiet-surfaced plastic.

The Finest in Jazz Recordings — Yours at More Than 50% Off the Usual Cost!

As a Trial Member, you will never be under any obligation to buy any other JAZZTONE SOCIETY recordings—*now or ever!* You do have the right, however, to try any of the Society's selections. Each month, you receive an advance description of these. You are not obligated to keep those you select — *even after you've listened to them!* You pay only for those that you want to keep — at the special Member's low price of just $2.75, plus a small shipping and excise tax fee, for each 12-inch long-playing micro-groove disc! Each one averaging nearly an hour's playing time! *A saving of over 50% off their usual retail price of $5.95!*

Offer Limited — Rush Coupon NOW!

Here's your chance to be first to own these 10 wonderful "gems of jazz." If not delighted your $1 will be refunded. But this offer may have to be withdrawn at any time, so mail coupon with $1 NOW! THE JAZZTONE SOCIETY, Dept. NA-2, 43 West 61st Street, New York 23, N. Y.

MAIL THIS COUPON NOW!

The Jazztone Society, Dept. NA-2, 43 West 61st Street, New York 23, N. Y.

I am enclosing $1.00 as complete payment; please send me, postpaid, the ten high-fidelity long-playing "all-time great" jazz classics, PLUS a free copy of "An Introduction to Jazz." Also reserve a Trial Membership in my name.

I am not obligated to buy any other recordings from the Society. I am to receive an advance description of future monthly selections. I may try any of these—free of charge—without paying a penny in advance. I may reject any recording, before or after I receive it. And I may cancel my Trial Membership at any time.

In the future, for each selection I decide to keep — I will pay the special low Member's price of just $2.75 plus few cents shipping and excise tax fee . . . *a saving of over 50% off their usual retail price!*

Name.....
(please PRINT)

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED